Dǫne k'aʔa hazǫ ełek'ę ets'etł'e gha nitł'e holı

Gots'éʔóné ʔelehk'é ʔets'edutł'e gha goʔedíhtł'é

Dene zhatié kádeʔa ełek'ęę egedutł'éh ts'ęnádagodhe gha edihtł'éh hólı

T'at'ú Dëne Yatí T'á ʔeretł'ís Xasí Xa ʔerehtł'ís Hálı

Dinjii zhuh ginjik datthak nihk'ìt atr'adantł'oo gugwindàk

Reports of the Dene Standardization Project

1990

Northwest Territories Education Culture & Communications

The Dene Standardization Project

Reports

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INTRODUCTION

The Dene Standardization Project, a joint effort of the Departments of Culture and Communications and Education, Government of the Northwest Territories, has completed its task of standardizing the writing systems for the Dene languages spoken in the Northwest Territories.

We would like to take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to all those who participated in the project, either by attending meetings, or writing these reports. We would like to especially thank the following individuals:

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1. The Dene Standardization Project - Background

The idea of standardizing the writing systems used by the speakers of the five Athapaskan or Dene languages of the Northwest Territories is not a new one. In 1976, the Inuit Cultural Institute Language Commission standardized the alphabetic (or Roman) and syllabic writing systems used by speakers of Inuktitut in the North. The usefulness of a standard set of characters and writing conventions for representing spoken Dene was first realized by the Athapaskan Languages Steering Committee in the 1970's and reiterated at the Bilingual Education Conference at Inuvik in 1982, and at a subsequent conference on education at Fort Smith in 1984. In the fall of 1985, the territorial government instituted the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, which tabled its report in 1986. This commission recommended that the writing systems used for the northern Dene languages be standardized within ten years. The official government response to this recommendation indicated its willingness to undertake this task;

> "The Government agrees that a concentrated effort must be made in respect to standardization and the Language Bureau is presently developing a budget proposal to fund development of standardized written Dene Languages. The budget plan would allow Government and organizations and individuals outside Government to form a commission or task force beginning in 1987 which will be assigned the responsibility of consultation and development of a process for standardization." (GNWT:1986:10)

As a result, the Dene Standardization Project was initiated in 1987. It was conceived as a one year project with the mandate of making recommendations on orthography standardization, as the first step in the process of encouraging widespread native language literacy, the publication of native language materials, and ultimately the preservation of the Dene languages in a technological era which places high demands for literacy and depends on the print media for the retention and transmission of information.

The Dene Standardization Project was funded under monies made available through the 1984 Canada-NWT Languages Agreement. After joint discussions between the Departments of Education and Culture and Communications (GNWT), a Planning Committee comprised of five representatives from these departments, and five linguists, was set up. The members of the Planning Committee were selected to represent each of the five Dene languages spoken in the Northwest Territories: Gwich'in, North Slavey, South Slavey, Chipewyan and Dogrib. Each member of the Planning Committee had either undertaken linguistic research on one of these Dene languages or was a fluent and literate native speaker. The Planning Committee representatives selected five members from each language group, including elders, to sit on Working Committees. The purpose of the Working Committees was to provide a forum in which the various writing systems in use could be discussed, evaluated and revised. The Working Committees held three or four meetings for each language group. After each meeting, a technical report summarizing the results of the community level discussions was submitted by the respective linguist. The Planning Committee met three times over the year long period to consolidate the results of the technical reports, and reported its results directly to the Department of Culture and Communications, which informed the Department of Education of the progress of the project.

A final meeting of the Planning Committee and representatives from the Working Committees was held in October, 1988 to consolidate the recommendations of the five language groups.

Final reports containing technical information and pedagogical guidelines for literacy training were drafted, and is being tabled at the Fall session, 1989.

2. The Dene Languages and Writing Systems

The five Dene languages spoken in the Northwest Territories are Gwich'in (formerly known as Loucheux), South Slavey, North Slavey, Chipewyan and Dogrib. There are speakers of South Slavey in B.C., the Yukon and Alberta, of Gwich'in in the Yukon and Alaska, and of Chipewyan in Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan. These five languages are related to other Dene languages in North America such as Chilcotin, Sekani and Beaver spoken in British Columbia, Sarsi spoken in Alberta, and Navajo and Apache spoken in the southwestern United States.

A syllabic writing system was introduced to the Dene people of the North by missionaries in the 19th century. This system was based on the system originally developed for Cree and Ojibwe and adapted to Inuktitut. There are still older people living who can read and write in syllabics, and there are many archival materials written using the syllabic script. Today, however, most literate Dene speakers are more familiar with the alphabetic writing systems developed over the last twenty years.

The syllabic system which was adapted for Dene languages was an incomplete system since many sounds were not represented in the syllabary. The system was useable only by fluent speakers who could figure out the written words because they understood the context of the text which, in most cases, was primarily either religious or a personal record. In order to use syllabics today to teach native language literacy, the system would require extensive revision to accurately reflect spoken Dene. Without such revision, it would not be possible to teach children learning a Dene language as a second language how to read and write.

Since reasonably accurate alphabetic writing systems have been developed and used successfully by children learning to speak Dene, by educators, by translators, and by fluent Dene speakers, for the last two decades, it seemed more feasible to the Dene Standardization Project to concentrate on refining and standardizing the alphabetic writing system. A further motive for preferring the alphabetic system to the syllabic system is that the majority of native language speakers in North America use an alphabetic system, for example for Mohawk, Tsimshian, Micmac. Speakers of other Dene languages also use an alphabetic system, for example for Navajo, Chilcotin, Sarsi. Finally, even for the languages for which syllabics are used in some regions, an alphabetic system is widely used in other regions, as in the case of Cree, Ojibwe, Inuinnaqtun.

The use of an alphabetic writing system also enhances the cultural distinctiveness of the Dene people. If the syllabic system were to be adapted, the writing systems for the Dene languages would resemble very closely written Inuktitut, since the same syllabic characters and diacritics (finals) would be utilized. More practically, fewer typesetting difficulties are encountered with the use of an alphabetic system, and, for children who are literate in English, an alphabetic writing system for Dene is more easily learnt than a syllabic system.

3. The Dene Alphabetic System

The basic principle underlying an alphabetic writing system is that there is a one-to-one correspondence between a symbol and a sound. The alphabetic writing systems developed for the Dene languages are based on this principle, and use basically the same letters of the Roman or Latin alphabet as are used to write English. However, the Dene writing systems are more systematic than the English writing system, since, when you write in Dene, you generally spell a word exactly as it sounds. In English, which has a much less systematic writing system, different letters may represent the same sound. For example, the underlined letters in the following English words represent the same sound: to, too, two, through, threw, clue, shoe, suit, coup. In English, the same letter can represent different sounds: dame, dad father, call, sofa, many. Sometimes in English, letters represent no sound at all: though, often, bomb, make, knife, ptarmigan.

The Dene writing systems are more systematic than English because one sound is always represented by the same symbol. An example may help to illustrate this point. In English, there are two different sounds which are both written th. The different pronunciations of the words either and ether show that there are, in fact, two different sounds represented by the same symbol th. In Dene, which also has these two sounds, we use two different symbols: th for the sound in ether, and dh for the sound in either. The th sound is always written as th, and the dh sound is always written as dh, without any exceptions. Some examples of these two sounds are given below, as they would be written in Chipewyan:

sedhá	my mouth
seʔádhé	my hip
sek'oth	my neck

It is not surprising that a child learning to read and write in English requires many years to master the writing system, and that so many adults are poor spellers or illiterate. The Dene writing systems, in contrast, are easily learned. Students learning to write in Dene have little difficulty in spelling correctly provided they learn the alphabet symbols, correctly match up what sounds are heard with the appropriate symbol, and learn a small set of simple writing rules.

At present, literate Dene speakers basically write words exactly how they pronounce them. As noted earlier, it is very easy to learn and to teach Dene literacy since the writing system reflects spoken Dene closely. However, even literate speakers often have problems deciding where to make word breaks, whether to use quotation marks, and so forth. A further problem with the Dene writing systems as they are currently in use, is that two people from the same community may write the same word differently, depending on their individual pronunciations. For example, within one South Slavey community, one speaker may say łáanidhe "I died", while another speaker may say łáandidhe "I died". In this case, although both speakers are saying exactly the same word, because they pronounce the word differently, they write the word differently. This problem is compounded when speakers from different communities are considered. In this case, speakers in one community may have different pronunciations of the same word when compared to speakers in another community. For example, speakers of Gwich'in in Old Crow say nitshih, while speakers of Gwich'in in Fort McPherson say nichih for "rosehips".

For some Dene language groups there are, at present, competing alphabetic systems and different spelling practices. This is due to the fact that various systems have been proposed and taught at different times, and also due to the fact that, since Dene is written exactly as it sounds, different communities, or even different individuals within the same community, may write words differently. For example, Gwich'in has at present three alphabetic systems in use: the McDonald orthography, which is the oldest system; the new or "Ritter" orthography, which is a more recently introduced system used in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories; and the Alaskan orthography used in Alaska.

In addition to the fact that there are competing alphabets in use, there has never been sufficient discussion nor any definite decisions taken with respect to writing conventions such as how to write compound words, punctuation, or which forms to use in dictionaries.

A further problem encountered by those using a Dene writing system is how to represent the difference in speech between younger and older speakers. The speech of the younger members of most communities often show many contracted (or shortened) forms, in comparison with the longer forms used by elders. Because of this, younger speakers may write the same words differently than older speakers, because people have been taught to write as they pronounce.

Because there have never been uniform systems for writing the Dene languages, written communication between speakers both within and between communities is more difficult than is necessary. Furthermore, the movement of native language teachers has been restricted between communities. The cost of production of curriculum materials has been higher than would be required were a uniform writing system adopted for each language. At present, materials must be produced for each dialect group, and these materials cannot be freely exchanged between communities.

The challenge for the Dene Standardization Project has been to decide between varying systems for each language, and, within each language group, to decide between the varying systems for each dialect. A further challenge has been to make sure, in deciding on a system, that the system chosen is systematic. This means that the writing systems must have symbols for all of the sounds which are recognized as distinct sounds by speakers of that language. Furthermore, the writing system must not represent information which is not meaningful to speakers. The final, and major challenge to the Dene Standardization Project, has been to resolve the problem of choosing alphabets and writing conventions for each language which conform to a standard across all five Dene languages.

4. What is Standardization?

There are differences in the speech of all speakers of a language. These differences are due to geography (which community a speaker is from), or due to social groupings (whether a speaker is a youth or an elder), or due to social context (whether a speaker is giving a religious speech, or meeting a friend on the street). The task of the Dene Standardization Project was to select writing systems and rules for writing that could accommodate these differences for each language group, and yet could bring about greater unity and best promote literacy and language retention within the Dene communities.

Four different types of standardization were discussed by the various Working Committees of the Dene Standardization Project. The first type, community standardization, involved selecting a writing system which would be uniform for all speakers within a community, but which would not reflect individual differences in pronunciation between the speakers of one community. The second type, regional standardization, involved choosing a writing system which would be uniform for all speakers within a region, but which would not reflect differences in pronunciation between speakers in different communities. The third type, territorial standardization meant opting for a system which would lead to uniform alphabets and writing conventions across all five northern Dene languages. The fourth type, pan-Dene standardization involved selecting a system which would lead to uniformity with respect to alphabets and writing practices across all Dene languages. In general, most of the recommendations of the Dene Standardization project reflect the choice of the Working Committees to strive toward community standardization, and ideally if possible, toward regional standardization of the orthographies for each language group.

A further issue which concerned the Dene Standardization Project was how best to reflect social and stylistic differences in speech. The general consensus of all Working Committees was that, in all cases, the speech of elders should be chosen as the standard in writing. Furthermore, it was agreed that formal rather than colloquial speech should be chosen as the basis upon which a written standard would be based.

5. Why Standardize the Writing Systems?

The benefits of standardizing the writing systems are readily apparent. First, a standard writing system which is adapted and utilized by native speakers will eventually, over time, preserve conservative forms of speech, i.e. the speech of elders. This, for many Dene people, is of great cultural value and importance. Second, if speakers of one language use only one standard writing system, rather than two or three different systems, it is easier to both teach and to learn literacy in the native language. Third, more curriculum materials should become available to schools, more cost-effectively, since similar materials would no longer need to be duplicated in the several different writing systems for one language. Fourth, translations of both governmental and nongovernmental documents would be more accurately and efficiently completed if translators used one standard writing system for their particular language. Fifth, standardizing the writing systems used by northern Dene speakers could ideally bring about conformity with the writing systems already in use by non-northern Dene speakers, such as the Gwich'in of Alaska or the Navajo of New Mexico. This would facilitate the exchange of information between North American Dene speakers and prove a boon to the peoples of the North who would then draw on the wealth of educational and research materials published outside of the Northwest Territories.

Uniform, standard orthographies will facilitate the production of printed materials in the Dene languages. The availability of a greater quantity and variety of published materials will promote Dene literacy and literature, and facilitate the use of Dene languages in both the public and private sectors.

The costs of delivery of government services will be greatly reduced if the production of printed materials is limited to meet regional rather than community demands. At present, the delivery of services is restricted and complicated by the fact that there are competing writing systems in use between and within communities.

The five Dene languages of the Northwest Territories are recognized as official languages under the Official Languages Act (1984, rev. 1986). The Government of the Northwest Territories has committed support to promote, develop and enhance the indigenous languages of the North. The standardization of the writing systems of the Dene languages will assist in this task, since it will unify speakers of each language and reflect the similarities across all languages. It will contribute to the maintenance of cultural distinctiveness, and, since literacy promotes personal and social development, will contribute to the retention of aboriginal culture, while enabling the individual to take part in an advanced industrial society. It is absolutely imperative that the writing systems be standardized if a literate Dene population is ever to become a reality.

6. What Recommendations Were Made?

The Dene Standardization Project spent many hours discussing and documenting a large number of complex problems related to the various writing systems in use. For each language group, a set of standard alphabet symbols was defined. Questions concerning writing conventions were discussed, and various problems related to punctuation and word junctures were examined. The Dene Standardization Project resolved that the speech of elders versus the speech of younger speakers should be encoded in the writing systems. Speech differences both within and between communities were discussed, and decisions taken on how best to represent these differences.

The Dene Standardization Project reached a consensus on twenty-seven recommendations for standardization of the writing systems which would apply across the five Dene languages. The recommendations are included as an appendix to this summary.

7. Implementation - Recommendations

The Dene Standardization Project has made a number of practical recommendations which should be implemented. Since it is anticipated that further problems and issues may arise with respect to the standardized orthographies, it was recommended that the Dene Languages Committee be set up in consultation with the Dene Cultural Institute. This standing committee would be empowered to make decisions regarding the standard orthographies.

Since literacy can only be achieved through training, there must be funding allocated for the training of native language specialists and teachers, and for the retraining of literate speakers who will have to revise their writing habits. It is recommended that community literacy workshops be funded. It is recommended that literacy workshops be held during working hours for government employees. It is further recommended that a compulsory native language literacy component be included in adult education.

The publication of reference materials such as dictionaries and teaching grammars are required in order to promote and use the standard orthographies. There must be funding in place for the development of native language curriculum materials for the primary and secondary levels, and funds made available for the revision of existing materials in the standard orthographies. Regional resource centres with permanent coordinators and support staff must be established to delivery literacy training and to make available reference and teaching materials to aid in the promotion of literacy. It is perceived that the Centres for Teaching and Learning could fulfil this function, however, long-term funding for staff and for the collection and cataloguing of materials is definitely required.

Provision must be made for the Dene languages to be taught as second languages to adults and children who do not speak these languages as a first language. This instruction must include literacy training using the standard orthographies. These programs could be delivered through the school and adult education systems already in place in the North.

Funding must be allocated for further linguistic research on matters such as dialect differences, the speech of elders, and first language acquisition. Since regional standardization is ideally recommended by the Dene Standardization Project, dialect surveys are required. Since the speech of elders has been identified as the standard by the Dene Standardization Project, this speech must be recorded. Furthermore, training in linguistics is necessary for native language specialists in order to accurately and efficiently develop reference and teaching materials. In addition, younger speakers who lack linguistics training may encounter difficulties in perceiving differences between their own speech and the speech of elders. If the speech of elders is taken as the standard, younger speakers must be trained to perceive and document these differences.

The Dene Standardization Project recommends that all places which have traditional Dene names be renamed in Dene, and spelled in the standard orthographies. All signs should be revised to reflect standard orthographies. All decisions taken by the territorial toponymist regarding placename spellings should be ratified by the Dene Languages Committee. The traditional placenames and standard spellings should be officially recognized by the territorial and federal governments.

Artists and writers in the communities should be employed to develop material using the standard orthographies. The literary achievements of Dene people must be recognized to encourage the publication of a variety of printed material.

All of the recommendations of the Dene Standardization Project require a definite, long-term funding commitment from the Government of the Northwest Territories.

8. Implementation - Time Frame

The first phase in the ten year process of standardizing the writing systems for the Dene languages has been completed by the Dene Standardization Project. The various writing systems have been discussed by fluent native speakers at the community level. Linguistic research on the varying systems has been conducted, and, in concert with native speakers, recommendations have been set forth concerning the standard to be used for each language. The choice of a standard to be used for each language has been guided by the principle of selecting symbols and conventions which lead to more uniform orthographies across all five Dene languages.

The second phase in the ten year process has also been completed. This phase involved consultating with and soliciting of, other interest groups such as the Dene Cultural Institute, the Centres for Teaching and Learning, native language teachers and specialists, and the various local and regional native organizations in the North. The proposed standard writing systems were presented to these interest groups, and their criticism incorporated in determining what final decisions to take.

Final decisions on the orthographies have been made by the Planning Committee. The third phase of the process involves official recognition of the standard writing systems by the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories. This official recognition should include the sole use of the standard official orthographies in the schools, and in all government publications which are disseminated in a native language.

The fourth phase of the process involves an intensive public awareness and literacy campaign, to introduce the standard orthographies to the public, and to train native language speakers in the use of the standard orthographies. A great deal more material must be published, and a wider variety of material is needed, in order to increase public awareness, and to motivate and stimulate literacy. Teachers must be trained to teach literacy using the standard orthographies, and, as mentioned earlier, some retraining may be necessary for already literate Dene speakers who work in the fields of education and interpreting.

The fifth, and final phase would be a review by the Dene Languages Committee midway in the ten year process. At this time, literate speakers would report on any unresolved issues, and the appropriate revisions to the standard writing systems would be made. It is expected that these revisions would be relatively minor, and not require extensive changes to published materials, nor intensive retraining of literate speakers.

The ten year process has the following time frame:

> Phase One (1987-88) **Dene Standardization Project:** review existing orthographies and conventions and recommend standards.
>
> Phase Two (1988-89) **Consultation with Interest Groups:** solicit feedback and support from northern interest groups.
>
> Phase Three (1989-90) **Official Recognition of Orthographies:** Planning Committee makes final decisions on writing systems; decisions ratified by Legislative Assembly.
>
> Phase Four (1990-95) **Public Awareness and Literacy Campaign:** introduction of standard systems to the public; training; development and publication of reference and teaching materials in standard orthographies.
>
> Phase Five (1995-96) **Review:** a review of the standard orthographies by the Dene Languages Committee; revisions of writing systems; continuation of public awareness and literacy campaign.

The ten year process of standardization requires the full commitment of the Government of the Northwest Territories, both philosophically and financially. In fact, the people of the Northwest Territories must commit this support, for two reasons. First, the Dene people of the Northwest Territories have made it known, through their response to the Task Force on Aboriginal Languages, that it is their strong desire that the writing systems be standardized; and second, without the support of the government and people of the Northwest Territories, the Dene languages of the Northwest Territories are further endangered.

The participants in the Dene Standardization Project are united in their recommendation that the Government of the Northwest Territories act quickly in guaranteeing its commitment to the ten year process of standardization. If the process is delayed, it may become difficult or impossible to attain the goal of standardized writing systems and full literacy. The longer writing systems are used, the more deeply entrenched they become, and the more difficult it becomes for literate speakers to change their writing habits, both emotionally and practically. At the present time, the participants in the Dene Standardization Project have been able to compromise, and reach a consensus on many complex and difficult issues. This spirit of cooperation and mutual endeavour must be fostered and encouraged through the immediate commitment of the territorial government.

APPENDIX - RECOMMENDATIONS SPECIFIC TO THE ORTHOGRAPHIES

1.0 Use conservative (older) forms of speech as the standard in writing.

Following this recommendation would lead Chipewyan writers, for example, to prefer the spelling bethchëné, which reflects the pronunciation of older speakers, to the spelling beschëné, or beshchëné, or behchëné, which reflect the pronunciations of younger speakers.

2.0 Alternate pronunciations

2.1 Always write the full rather than the contracted forms of words.

This recommendation entails that, in Gwich'in for example, the first rather than the second spellings given below would be preferred:

gwitr'it	tr'it
nagoonjik	naonjik
nihkhahgijilch'aii	nikhajilch'aii

2.2 Always write the formal form of words. Informal forms of words may be introduced later in the classroom.

2.3 In cases of geographical dialect variants, write a word as it is pronounced for each dialect.

This recommendation entails, for example, that the North Slavey word for "rock" would have three different spellings depending on which community the writer was from:

Fort Franklin	kwé
Fort Norman	pé
Fort Good Hope	fé

(It should be noted that this recommendation is slightly more complex than stated here. First, in North Slavey, the Fort Franklin and Fort Norman pronunciations are to be taken as the standard in a specific case of variation in the pronunciation of three consonants. Second, in Gwich'in, the Old Crow dialect is to be taken as the standard in the cases where there is variation in the pronunciation of certain consonants, and in the case of the pronunciation of one specific prefix. In both of these cases, these dialects preserve the older forms of speech.)

3.0 Dene Alphabet Symbols

3.1 The same alphabet symbols will be used to represent vowels, tone, and, consonants in Chipewyan, Dogrib, North Slavey and South Slavey.

3.2 The alphabet symbols used to represent vowels, tone and consonants in Gwich'in are, in most cases, uniform with those used for the other Dene languages. It was decided by the Gwich'in Working Committee and the Planning Committee that the Gwich'in writing system should be standardized with the writing systems in use in the Yukon and Alaska.

3.3 The symbols <th> <dh> <tth> <ddh> and <tth'> will be used.

This recommendation leads, for example, to the following Chipewyan spellings, in which the first spellings are preferred to the second spellings:

thá	Oá	"lor ʔ"
bedhá	bedá	"his/her mouth"
ʔetthën	ʔetoën	"caribou"
tth'ën	to'ën	"bone"
ʔełddháy	ʔełddáy	"dry fish"

3.4 The symbol <gh> will be used.

This recommendation means that the first, rather than the second spelling, is preferred in Chipewyan:

ghą	gą	"for"

3.5 Always, and only, write high tone for South Slavey, North Slavey and Chipewyan. Always, and only, write low tone for Dogrib and Gwich'in.

This recommendation leads to the following spellings:

Chipewyan	shíh	"mountain"
Dogrib	shìh	"mountain"
South Slavey	shíh	"mountain"
North Slavey	shíh	"mountain"
Gwich'in	shìh	"meat"

3.6 The vowel in Chipewyan which sounds like the <u>u</u> sound in the English word <u>but</u> will be written <ë>.

This leads to the spellings given below for Chipewyan~

delddhër	"rattle"
nédhël	"it is hot/warm"

3.7 The vowel in North Slavey which sounds like the a sound in the English word mate will be written <ə>.

This leads to the spellings given below for North Slavey:

déghə	"it is calm"
kwə	"rock"

4.0 Use of Symbols

4.1 Use the symbol <gh> whenever some speakers in a community say a word with a -gh- pronunciation and other speakers say the same word with a -y- pronunication. Use the symbol <gh> whenever some speakers in a community say a word with a -gh- pronunciation and other speakers say the same word with a -w- pronunciation.

This recommendation would lead North Slavey speakers, for example, to write words pronounced as shown in the first examples, in the same way, as shown in the second examples:

seghú, sewú	seghú	"my tooth"
déghə, déyə	déghə	"it is calm"

4.2 Always write a glottal stop <ʔ> when it is at the beginning of a stem.

Following this recommendation, glottal stop would be written as shown in these South Slavey words:

megháts'ı̨ʔáh	"one gives something to him/her"
ʔah	"snowshoe"
ʔóné	"beyond it"

4.3 Only write nasal vowels when the nasal vowel makes a meaning difference in a word.

This recommendation means that the following Dogrib spellings would be selected:

dze	gum
dzę	day

4.4 Write <x> rather than <h> at the beginning of a stem.

This recommendation leads a South Slavey writer to spell the word "goose" as xah, although it can be pronounced either xah or hah.

4.5 In South Slavey, if a word can be pronounced either with -mb- or with -m-, choose the spelling which reflects the -m- pronunciation. If a word can be pronounced either with -nd- or with -n-, choose the spelling that reflects the -n- pronunciation.

This recommendation would lead to the words which are pronounced as indicated in the first column, being written as in the second column:

k'embe	k'embe	"she/he swims around"
mekǫ́ę́, mbekǫ́ę́	mekǫ́ę́	"his/her house"
tedéhmé	tedéhmé	"it flooded"

4.6 In Dogrib, if a word can be pronounced with either -mb- or -b-, choose the spelling which reflects the -mb- pronunciation. If a word can be pronounced with either -nd- or -d-, choose the spelling which reflects the -nd- pronunciation.

This recommendation would lead to the words which are pronounced as indicated in the first column, being written as in the second column:

mbeh, beh	mbeh	"knife"
mı̨	mı̨	"net"
lìbò	lìbò	"cup"

5.0 Word Divisions

5.1 Write a suffix as part of the word.

Following this recommendation would lead, for example, to the suffixes which mean "big" or "small" being written as follows:

(Chipewyan)

bebíaze	"little baby"
dezaze	"creek"

(South Slavey)

sahcho	"grizzly bear"
dihcho	"rooster"

5.2 Particles are to be written separately from the word.

This recommendation means that particles such as those which mean "future", "past" and "not" would be written as follows:

(Dogrib)	
shèhtı̨ ha	"I am going to eat"
(Chipewyan)	
nádé nı̨	"They used to live"
(North Slavey)	
nezǫ yíle	"it is not good"

5.3 A postposition is to be written separately, unless it takes a prefix, or unless it is part of a verb.

This recommendation means, for example, that the postpositions in the following South Slavey examples would be written as part of the word:

negha	"for you"
goghániʔǫ	"I gave it to them"

The postposition would be written separately in the phrase:

tłı̨ goʔǫ́ǫ́ nezụ ésı̨́ı̨ gha	"for the best dog"

5.4 The possessive pronoun prefix is to be written as part of the word.

Examples from Gwich'in and North Slavey illustrate this recommendation:

(Gwich'in)	
shikwàan'	"my fire"
kwàn'	"fire"
(North Slavey)	
sets'aré	"my hat"
t'ere ts'aré	"the girl's hat"

Chipewyan Technical Report

0. Introduction. This report deals with matters concerning: (1) the orthographic symbols; (2) the use of symbols for alternate pronunciations; (3) word divisions; and (4) punctuation.

The choice of orthographic symbols is based on two important principles in the spirit of standardization in a wider context: (i) to use the same alphabetic symbols for essentially the same sounds in other Dene languages and (ii) to reduce the number of alphabetic letters. For example, gh, is chosen for g (which was used in Snowdrift) and x replaces hh in the system used by the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission. Based on the second principle, the proposed alphabet does not include any "labio-velars" from the inventory. For example, ghw and kw in heghwi 'flexible' and sekwi 'child' as spelled in some existing literature, should be spelled heghui and sekui respectively.

1. Chipewyan Alphabet

1.1 The Chipewyan alphabetic symbols are presented below in the order established for all Dene languages in the Northwest Territories. The vowels are listed in the simple (unmodified) form only in the inventory, recognizing however the fact that they may be modified by nasalization and/or tone.

ʔ	a	b	ch	ch'	d	dh	ddh	dl	dz	e
ë	g	gh	h	i	j	k	k'	l	ł	m
n	o	r	s	sh	t	t'	th	tł	tł'	ts
ts'	tth	tth'	u	w	x	y	z			

1.2 Tone. Only the high tone is marked with (´) as shown in the following examples:

shëth	'mountain'	kón	'fire'
tsá	'beaver'	lidí	'tea'

However, high tone which is part of the intonation contour (e.g. high pitch on the question suffix -u, as in Tubaɨdhi-u), is not marked. Only the lexical tone is marked.

1.3 dh, ddh, th, tth, tth', and gh. These six symbols replace ɖ, dɖ, θ, tθ, tθ', and ɡ respectively of the system that was used in Snowdrift, e.g.

dh:	dhëth 'hide' (not dëθ)
ddh:	ʔełddháy 'dried fish' (not ʔełdɖáy)
th:	tha 'martin' (not θa)
tth:	tthe 'rock' (not tθe)
tth':	tth'áy 'plate' (not tθ'áy)
gh:	ʔeghézé 'egg' (not ʔeɡézé)

1.4 x, sh, ts, and ts'. These four symbols represent consonants that are written by hh, sy, c and c' respectively in the system developed by the Northern Canada Evangelical Mission (NCEM), e.g.

x: xál 'card' (not hhál)
sh: shën 'song' (syën)
ts: tsá 'beaver' (not cá)
ts': ts'ich'ogh 'quill' (not ts'ic'ogh)

Note that the sound represented by x is different from the sound represented by h as in hesiën 'I sing' and hetsagh 'he cries'.

1.5 Labialized consonants: The NCEM system also includes such consonants as ghw and kw which are eliminated by writing them as ghu and ku respectively, e.g.

heghui 'flexible' (not heghwi)
sekui 'child' (not sekwi)
cf. ts'elt'ui 'cigarette' (not ts'eltw'i)

1.6 Short vowel ë. The Chipewyan vowels include five long vowels which may also be nasalized and a short vowel ë. In the old syllabic orthography this vowel is not recognized as it is identified as e. On the other hand, the NCEM recognizes a short vowel written by Greek letter epsilon, [ε]. However, the Greek letter in the NCEM system represents not only the short vowel which is always short, i.e. ë, but also a shortened long vowel, e. In other words, the long vowel e may be optionally shortened in prefixes and in word final position. Consequently, the Greek letter is used very frequently and unnecessarily in the NCEM system. It is decided that the shortened long vowel be written as e and ë is used for the short vowel which is always short, e.g.

ë: shën, 'song'
dzën 'muskrat
tën 'ice
e: selá 'my hand' (not sεlá)
dëne 'man' (not dεnε)

1.7 The "diphthongs" include the following two pairs, ue vs. ui and ai vs. ay, and au and ie which are rare, e.g.

ue: łue 'fish', due 'very'
ui: ts'ąkui 'old woman', ts'élt'ui 'cigarette'
ai: k'ái 'willow', ts'aili 'frog'
ay: tth'áy 'dish', ʔay 'snowshoe'
au: dáúdi 'nothing' (cf. dódí)
ie: deníe 'bull moose'

In the speech of some younger generations, the distinction between ai and ay has disappeared, but they are well maintained as two distinct sounds in the conservative speech. au is also maintained only in the conservative speech, although it may arise in the innovative speech when a verb ends in a followed by the question suffix -u.

1.8 Glottal stop. Glottal stop is written wherever it is present either in prefixes (epenthetic) or stems (underlying), e.g.

In stems:	ʔay 'snowshoe', láʔane 'ring'
In prefixes:	ʔene 'my mother', ʔetth'ën 'bone'

2. Alternate Pronunciation/spelling

Three types of alternative pronunciations are recognized. The first category of alternate pronunciations may be called dialect variations in a broader sense (see 2.1). The second category is stylistic variation (e.g. formal vs. casual, written vs. colloquial), and the third is due to assimilation in connected speech.

2.1 The most common are alternations in vowels. The following are most frequently observed.

i vs e:	dejúli/dejúle 'mosquito', tɬ'uli/tɬ'ule 'rope'
u vs a:	yunéth/yanéth 'future', yuní/yaní 'past'
o vs u:	kón/kún 'fire', thǫ́th/thǫ́uth 'spear'
o vs a:	horelyǫ́/harelyǫ́ 'all'

Consonantal alterations are rare, but the following examples are noted:

ʔ vs h vs g:	ʔurádzi/hurádzi/gurádzi 'spider'
t' vs ʔ	t'á/ʔá 'because' (e.g. ʔeyit'á/ʔá 'because of that')

All of these alternate pronunciations/spellings are recognized as equally valid.

2.2 The use of gh. The word final gh is pronounced in three different ways, although an individual may have only one or two alternate pronunciations. For example, hetsagh '(s)he cries' is pronounced as hetsaa, hetsagh, or hetsax. The final gh, which reflects historical reality, is adopted to accommodate the variable pronunciations.

2.3 Stylistic variations involve mostly shortening in the informal/colloquial styles. Compare the pairs given below:

Formal	Casual/Colloquial
ts'ą́kui	ts'ą́ku
ʔenethékui/ʔenékui	ʔenéku
horelyǫ́/harelyǫ́	halyǫ́/ʔayǫ́
t'á/ʔa	rá
dedháy	dedhá

ʔɨłághe	łághe/łá
dɣhɣ	dɣ
ts'ëré	ts'ér
ni-u	nu
tth'i-u	tth'u

2.4 A fourth type of alternation is due to assimilation in fast (connected) speech, e.g.

Basic/underlying	Assimilated
hesjën	heshjën
bethch'ëné	beshchëné

In these cases, the basic/underlying spelling must be adopted although the word may be pronounced in two different ways.

There is an important point to be made with respect to the alternate pronunciations bethchené and beshchené. A third pronunciation for this word is behchené where the second consonant is neither th nor sh, but h. This h is not due to assimilation, but to the change of th to h in the colloquial style of the younger generation. Therefore, this word is pronounced in three different ways although spelling is standardized.

3. Word Divisions

3.1 Compounds. Compound nouns are basically in two different types: (i) those that consist of two independent words, and (ii) those that consist of one independent word plus a noun or verb root that cannot constitute a word by itself, e.g.

(i) k'its'í 'birch boat', tsá dëlé 'beaver blood'
(ii) ʔetthénké (ʔetthën + -ké) 'caribou feet',
tł'áʔih (-tłá + ʔih) 'pants'

For category (ii), the compounds are written as one word because one of the two elements cannot stand by itself. For category (i), however, it can be written as one word or two words. If the meaning of the compound is transparent, derivable from the meaning of each constituent of the compound, then it is written as two words. However, if the compound has a unique meaning which cannot be derived from the meaning of the two constituents, then the compound is written as one word. The contrast is illustrated by the following pair:

two words:	tsá dhéth 'beaver skin'
one word:	tsádhéth 'a pelt of any kind'

Although rare, there is another category of compounds which consists of category (ii) above plus another root, i.e. a word plus two roots. It is decided that this type of long compound be written with a hyphen before the last root, so that the identity of the compound can be easily recognized.

łuetthẽn-t'éth 'cooked fish meat'
ʔetthẽntthú-lá 'caribou tongue tip'

Note that descriptive nouns, nouns that are equivalent to a full sentence are not considered compounds in this report. Since such nominal expressions are structurally equivalent to a sentence, no further comment is necessary, e.g.

t'así hena	'something is living (sentence) 'living thing, organism (noun)
dëne dẽl net'ı	'a person's blood is examined' (sentence) 'serology' (noun)

3.2 Particles (enclitics). Five subcategories of elements are discussed in this subsection.

3.2.1 Conjunctions. Of the two conjunctions, chu is used to conjoin nominals only, but -u is much more versatile in its distribution and function, e.g.

chu: setá chu betá chu 'my father and his father'
-u: dëneyu-u, ts'ékui-u 'men and women' (after noun)
ʔeyi tłą-u 'after this, then' (after postposition)
Gah heheʔı-u di tth'ı heheʔı 'they saw a rabbit, they also saw a chicken'
tu baıdhi-u 'Are you thirsty?' (marking yes-no questions)

In the existing literature, chu is considered a word and -u a suffix. This practice will be continued.

3.2.2 Negative particle. This enclitic is considered a word in a formal style in which it appears as a word. In most of the other cases, this particle is contracted with what precedes, e.g.

híle:	nechá híle (very formal)
-íle:	necháile (normal)
-le:	nechíle (informal, most casual)

It is decided that the negative particle be written as a word or affixed to another word as the case may be. Note that the negative particle may be affixed not only to a verb but also to another particle, e.g.

dụ thá hesna xaíle 'I am not going to live long'

3.2.3 Tense/mode particles. These particles include xa (future/intention), ni (past/completion) and sɩ (emphatic), among others. These are recognized as independent words and even when two such particles occur following a verb, they are written as two separate words, e.g.

seʔekui bekása xa sɩ 'I'm going to go look for my uncles.'

3.2.4 Nominal particles. Augmentative -chogh and diminutive -aze are treated as suffixes regardless of their sematic function, e.g.

łɩaze 'puppy/small dog'
beschogh 'big knife'
łɩchoghaze 'colt/small horse (?)'
dezaze 'creek/small river'
deschogh 'big river'

Collective ke, on the other hand, is treated as a word. While this decision is based on intuition, it seems to agree with the distributional characteristic in that ké occurs farther from the stem following -chogh-/aze, e.g.

łɩchoghaze ké 'two colts'
babiaze ké 'two babies'

3.3 Postpositions. Postpositions are independent words, inflected or not, just like nouns, e.g.

xél 'with'
dëne xél 'with the man' also dëne bexél
bexél 'with him'

A postposition or postpositional phrase is written as an independent word when a verb following it is also a word without the preceding postposition. The crucial question is whether or not the verb can stand by itself as a word without a preceding postposition. Sometimes it is clear, other times it is not. Consider the two sentences below.

(a) Ts'ékuaze chu bą chu jíe ka heʔas
(b) Dëneyuaze chu betá chu tsá káheneta dzéheʔás

In (a) postposition ka is written as a word separate from the following verb which is a word without ka. In (b), however, the same postposition is affixed to the verb because heneta is not a word without ka. These are clear cases, but there are many unclear cases which require further research. Postpositions may also be affixed to the verb in casual connected speech as illustrated by the following examples:

(a) Formal: Yets'ën heʔas.
'They walked to him'

(b) Casual: Yets'ę́eʔas

While (a) is recognized as correct in formal writing, (b) should also be recognized as a possible spelling in a casual style.

Postpositions are incorporated into the verb for two reasons. First, morphologically a postposition may be an integral part of the verb theme, in which case a postposition is incorporated into (affixed to) the verb. Secondly, phonologically when the verb requires an epenthetic vowel, a postposition may be affixed to the verb. The second case is illustrated by the examples below.

(a) No incorporation: Beka nászé xa. 'I will go hunt for it'

(b) Incorporation: Beká heszé xa --> Bekászé xa.

In (a) the verb is a word with prefix ná- and no epenthetic vowel is required. In (b) there is no prefix except the epenthetic he-. Therefore, the postposition may be incorporated into the verb replacing he-.

4. Punctuation

4.1 Capital letters. Capital letters are to be used as in English. When digraphs (e.g. ts, ch) are to be capitalized, only the first letter is capitalized (e.g. Ts, Ch).

4.2 Periods, commas, quotation marks. Periods, commas, etc. are used as in English, but no quotation marks are used as they are redundant.

4.3 Diacritic marks. The superscript for tone is marked on each letter of a vowel symbol because a diphthong may have different tones (contour tone), but the subscript for nasality is marked on the first letter of a digraph because a diphthong cannot be only partially nasalized. Consider the two examples below.

kṷé 'house' (not kṷę́ or kṷę)
jíe 'berry'

For 'house' the diphthong is nasalized, and it is sufficient to mark nasality on the first part of the diphthong i.e. on the letter u, because the nasality on the second part is redundant (automatic). Tone, however, should be marked on both letters of the diphthong because both (in case of 'house') or only the first part (in case of 'berry) carry high tone.

Dogrib Technical Report

Introduction

This report covers only technical matters concerning what alphabet symbols will be used in writing Dogrib, and how these symbols should be used in the case of alternate pronunciations. It also reports word divisions and punctuation.

1. On defining the Dene alphabet symbols

1.1 The Dogrib alphabet and alphabetical order

The Dogrib alphabet is listed below in alphabetical order. Each vowel is listed only in its simple form. The vowels also occur as nasal vowels, as vowels with low tone, and as nasal vowels with low tone, for instance a ą á ą̀.

ʔ	a	b	ch	ch'	d	dl	dz	e	g	gh	gw
h	i	j	k	k'	kw	kw'	l	ł	m	mb	n
nd	o	r	s	sh	t	t'	tł	tł'	ts	ts'	w
wh	x	y	z	zh							

1.2 Tone marking

Low tone in Dogrib will be marked with (`), as in the following examples.

xà	'cards'	ts'ò	'blanket'
xhìh	'mountain'	setà	'my father'
łèt'è	'bread'	setà	'fire; house'
tsà	'beaver'		

1.3 <mb>, <nd>

Mb, **nd**, in addition to **b**, **d**, will be used in spelling by all people, because **mb** and **nd** occur as sounds distinct from **b** and **d** in the speech of some people. **B** and **d** will be used in the spelling of the words which all people pronounce alike; **mb** and **nd** will be used in the words where there is variation in pronunciation among people.

mb:	mbeh	'knife'	b:	bebìa	'baby'
	sǫǫ̀mba	'money'		libò	'cup'
	k'embeh	's/he is swimming'		libà	'socks'
	mbò	'meat'		libalàʔeh	'parka'
nd:	ndi	'island'	d:	dı̨	'four'
	weghàehnda	'I'm looking at it'		done	'person'
	yahtindeè	'bishop'		daehta	'bed'

1.4 <m>, <n> with a vowel following

Because not all vowels following the nasal consonants **m** and **n** are nasal, nasalization on the following vowel will be written as appropriate.

m:	*mòla*	*'French person'*	*n:*	*netsǫ̀*	*'to you'*
	lamè	'mass'		nàhoeghà	's/he is playing cards'
	mǫǫ̀la	'button'		nǫ̀da	'lynx'
	mı̨	'nets'		nı̨htɬ'è	'paper'

1.5 <x>

Use **x** for noun, postposition, and verb stems. It occurs in some prefixes also.

nouns:	xà	'cards'
	xo	'year'
	ı̨xę̀ę	'yesterday'
postpositions:	goxè	'with us'
verbs:	tè ehtɬ'è ka ts'ihxà	'let's beat the carpet for dust'
	mbesehxı̨	'I'm sleepy'

1.6 Glottal stop <ʔ>

Glottal stop ʔ will be written as the initial letter of noun, verb, and postposition stems in Dogrib. In general it will not be written in prefixes.

ʔ written

Nouns:	ʔah	'snowshoe'
	ʔeh	'dress'
	ʔoo	'spruce boughs'
Postpositions:	weʔǫ̀	'more than it'
	goʔı̨	'behind (a house)'
Verbs:	neʔàh	'eat it!'
	k'egeʔòh	'they are swimming'

No ʔ written

elà	'canoe'	ehtsèe	'grandfather'
eɬexè	'together'	ejie	'cow'
ǫhndaà	'elders'	ǫhchį	'bag'

1.7 The "alveo-series"

For some people, there are two contrasting series of consonants: the alveolar series, pronounced [ts, ts', dz, z, s], and the alveopalatal series, pronounced [ch, ch', j, zh, sh]. Other people have few, if any, words using sounds from the alveopalatal series of consonants - - for them, the words are pronounced using a sound from the alveolar series. This situation reflects a sound change in progress. Below are some examples of words representing this variation in speech, given with their spelling in the standardized orthography.

All people pronounce [ts]		Some pronounce [ts], others [ch]	
tsǫ̀	'excrement'	chǫ	'rain'
tso	'firewood'	elàcho	'barge'
ehtsı	'granny'	seghàıchi	'give it to me'
tsà	'beaver'	nechà	'big'

All people pronounce [ts']		Some pronounce [ts'], others [ch']	
ts'ah	'hat'	sech'à	'away from me'
ts'ò	'blanket'	ch'o	'quills'
ts'i	'spruce'	tǫhch'ih	'slop pail'
ts'eenda	'we are living'	ìch'èh	's/he is angry'

All people pronounce [dz]		Some pronounce [dz], others [j]	
dzę	'day'	ejì	's/he is breathing'
dzǫ	'muskrat'	jǫ	'here'
edza	'it is cold'	ejı	's/he is singing'
dzè	'gum'	agòjà	'it happened'

All people pronounce [z]		Some pronounce [z], others [zh]	
zǫ	'only'	yek'èèzhǫ	's/he knows'
eze	's/he shouts'	dǫzhia	'little boy'
wewaze	'his/her saliva'	shègezhè	'they are eating'
lizà	'ace'	wezha	'his/her kids'
wızi	'her/his name'	nazhaʔeh	'sweater'

All people pronounce [s]		Some pronounce [s], others [sh]	
sɩ	'me, I'	shɩ	'song'
sìga	'sugar'	shìh	'mountain'
ehse	'I'm shouting'	shètɩ	's/he is eating'
sǫǫ̀mba	'money'	nɩhshe	'potato'

2. On the use of symbols (alternate pronunciations)

2.1 <mb>, <b>, <nd>, <d>

As noted in section 1.3 above, there are two possible pronunciations for words which are spelled with **mb** and **nd**. **Mb** is pronounced as either [mb] or [b]; **nd** is pronounced as either [nd] or [d]. Several additional examples of words spelled with **mb** and **nd** are given below. This is just a small sample.

mb:	gomba	'our older sister'	nd:	eghàlaehnda	'I'm working'
	k'àmba	'ptarmigan'		ndè	'land'
	mbehchɩ	'sled, vehicle'		nàehndì ha	'I'll buy it'
	tamba	'shore'		gonde	's/he is talking'

2.2 <zh> and <y>

There are a few words which may be pronounced with either the [zh] or [y] sound. These will be spelled with a **y**, as in the examples below.

yìwò	'homemade bag'
goyìì	'inside'

Note that most words spelled with **y** have only the [y] pronunciation, for instance the words below.

yahti	'priest'
yati	'word'
yehtsɩ	's/he is making it'
eya	'sick'

Some examples of words spelled with **zh** are given below. More examples are found in section 1.7 above.

zhà	'lice'
zha	'snow'
kǫ̀ gozhǫa	'old house'
goɩzhǫ	'smart'

2.3 Variant pronunciations with <e>

The vowel **e** easily varies in pronunciation depending on the neighboring sounds ("assimilation"). Three cases were discussed, and it was agreed that the **e** spelling should be used in all these cases.

2.3.1 <e> influenced by a neighboring vowel

e may come to be pronounced identically to the other vowel, retaining its own tone.

jìe	'berry'	compare:	jìewà	'blueberry'
			jìecho	'fruit'
ejie	'cow'		ejiedo	'chocolate, brown'
			ejiet'o	'milk'
łiwe	'fish'		łiwezǫ	'trout'
			łiek'ı	'fish eggs'
daehte	'bed'			
daehchı	'chair'			

2.3.2 <e> in prefixes influenced by a rounded consonant <w>, <wh>

e may come to be pronounced with lips rounded.

we-	wetà	'her/his father'
	wedè	'her/his younger sister'
	wets'ǫ̀	'to her/him'
	wegàh	'beside her/him'
	weghàehnda	'I see her/him'
	wegha nezı	's/he likes it'
whe-	wheda	's/he is sitting'
	whetı	's/he is sleeping'
	whekǫ̀	'it is hot'
	whek'ò	'it is cold'

2.3.3 <e> following <n>

In contraction, **e** may take on the nasal quality of **n**, and **n** as a separate consonant sound is not heard. The nasalized [e] sound may then be influenced by a preceding vowel. The contraction does not occur in the first or last syllable of a word. It commonly occurs in second person singular (you-one person) verbs, for example those below:

k'enembeh	'you swim'	nànetła	'you go'

shènetı	'you eat'	wheneda	'you sit'
whenetı	'you sleep'		

2.4 Variant pronunciations with <gh>

The consonant **gh** is easily influenced in its pronunciation by neighboring sounds. Three cases were discussed, and it was agreed that the **gh** spelling should be used in all these cases.

2.4.1 <gh> influenced by a neighboring rounded vowel ‹o›, ‹ǫ›

In this situation, the pronunciation of **gh** almost resembles [w].

seghǫ	'about me'	seghò	'my teeth'
seghoo	'my age'	seghoò	'my thigh'

2.4.2 <gh> influenced by a neighboring front vowel ‹i›, ‹ì›, ‹e› ‹ę›

In this situation, the pronunciation of **gh** very closely resembles [y]. Some examples of this are given below.

nàhoehghe	'I played cards'	compare	xà	'cards'
			nàhoehghà	'I am playing cards'
naeghı	'it is melting'		naehxı	'I thawed it'

Spelling Rule If there is a sound [gh] or [y] which alternates in a word with a related meaning with **gh** or **x**, spell the sound [gh] or [y] as **gh**.

(Note that the pronunciation of **x** is also influenced by neighboring vowels. Compair the sound of **x** before **a** (no influence), and before **o** or **o** (round vowels) or before **i**, **ı**, **e**, **ę** (front vowels).

xà	'cards'	xo	'year'	sexè	'with me'
xah	'goose'	xòo	'snare'	xèhts'ǫ̀	'evening'
mbełexà	'scissors'	tł'axǫ	'after'	ıxę̀ę	'yesterday'

2.4.3 <gh> in contraction

In postpositions and postpositional prefixes, **gh** is not pronounced in contraction. A vowel **e** preceding **gh** in the full form will be influenced by the next vowel in the contracted word when the **gh** is not heard.

segha nezı	'I like it'
weghǫènǫ	's/he lost, or was beaten in a game'
weghàıchi	'give it to him/her'
eghàlaehnda	'I'm working'

2.5 Consonants sometimes pronounced as [h]

In a number of words, two pronunciations are possible, either using the sound [h] or some other consonant sound. It was decided in general to not use **h** as the standard spelling in these cases, but to adopt the other consonant.

[satsǫ̀] or [hatsǫ̀]	spell:	satsǫ̀	'metal'
		satsǫ̀mbehchı̨	'vehicle'
[tatsǫ̀ga] or [hatsǫ̀ga]		tatsǫ̀ga	'raven'
[xat'ǫ̀] or [hat'ǫ̀]		Xat'ǫ̀	'falltime'

3. Word divisions

3.1 Compound words

For compounds, the general principle to be used in writing them is this: if the compound word has its own unique meaning, it should be written as a single word.

lìbalàʔeh	'parka'	ejiedo	'chocolate, brown'
nı̨htł'èkǫ̀	'school, office'	Tł̨chǫǫ̀	'Dogrib'
T'èehdah	'Detah'	deghambeh	'razor'
ekwǫ̀kwǫ̀	'caribou meat'	dzęnįhtl'eè	'calendar'

edaidzę	'Sunday'
edaidzęk'ee	'Monday'
Nàkedzę	'Tuesday'
Taidzę	'Wednesday'
Dı̨dzę	'Thursday'
Łiwets'edèedzę	'Friday'
edaidzęt'ǫǫ̀	'Saturday'

Below are a few examples in which the first, or second element of the compound, or both elements, is an 'inalienable' noun (must be possessed by someone or something, or is an integral part of someone or something). (Inalienable nouns are written with a hyphen before them to show their status as inalienable.)

tł'àʔeh	'pants'	-tł'à	'bottom'
Yahtità	'the Pope'	-tà	'father'
mbehwò	'knife sheath'	-wò	'bag, skin'
lidìwò	'tea bag'		
kwàwò	'table cloth'		
kwìgha	'hair'	-kwì	'head'
-kwìghà	'hair'	-ghà	'hair'

-kwìghǫ̀	'brain'		
-kwìkw'ǫǫ̀	'skull'	-kw'ǫǫ̀	'bone'
-nɨkwǫ̀	'cheek'	-nɨ	'face'
		-kwǫ̀	'flesh'

A few examples of other types of complex nouns follow:

wet'à gok'ets'eetɨ	'broom'
weyìièt'ɨ	'binoculars'
k'ots'èhchih	'scarf'
ek'ak'ǫ	'candle'

3.2 Negative morpheme

Negative words will be written as in the examples below. The positive word is written with the sequence **-le** at the end to make the negative.

seghàenda-le	's/he isn't looking at me'
eghàlaehnda-le	'I'm not working'
Sǫǫ̀mbakè nàwhehtła-le	'I didn't go to Yellowknife'
whetɨ-le	's/he isn't sleeping'
whekǫ̀-le	'it isn't hot'
nechà-le	'it isn't big'

3.3 Past tense

It was agreed that the past tense morpheme will be spelled as the separate word ɨlè. For example:

eghàlaenda ɨlè	's/he used to work'
whetɨ ɨlè	'she was sleeping'

3.4 Future tense

It was agreed that the future tense morpheme will be spelled as the separate word **ha**. For example:

shèhtɨ ha	'I'm going to eat'
eładɨ adle ha	'it will be changed'
ts'ehtsɨ ha	'we are going to make it'
sets'àtła ha	's/he is going to visit me'

3.5 Combinations of the above

Combinations of the morphemes given above are possible in Dogrib, as can be seen from the following types of examples.

3.5.1 Future + negative

This combination will appear as in the examples below.

shèhtı̨ ha-le	'I'm not going to eat'
eɬadı̨ adle ha-le	'it will not be changed'

3.5.2 Past + negative

This combination will appear as below:

weehʔı̨ ı̨lè-le	'I haven't seen her/him'

3.5.3 Future + past

This combination will appear as below:

sǫǫ̀mba whela kǫ̀ nı̨ehɬe ha ı̨lè	'I should have put it in the bank'

3.6 'can't'/'can'

These meanings are expressed in Dogrib by the use of xa plus dìè or dììlè, as in the examples below.

shèhtı̨ xa dìè	'I can't eat'
shèhtı̨ xa ììlè	'I can eat'

The word dìè is also used to mean 'too', 'very', or 'really'.

nechà ìè	'it's too big'
ɬekǫ dìè	'it's really delicious'

3.7 The Dene plural morpheme -ke

This morpheme, which is used quite widely in other Dene languages, is used in Dogrib only quite rarely, for example in words like those below. It is always written as part of one word.

eɬechike	'brothers'
eɬedèke	'sisters'
eɬemǫ̀ǫke	'aunt and niece/nephew'
amı̨̀ı̨ke	'which people?'
eɬezhake	'cow with calf'

3.8 Suffixes

There are a number of morphemes which can be called 'qualifiers' which cannot occur alone in speech, for example, -cho 'huge', -ndeè 'great', -a 'little', -zhǫ 'old', -tso 'small', ch'ih 'old', and others. (They are often used in nicknames.) In general, these will be treated as suffixes, and written together with the item that precedes them as a single word.

dehcho	'Mackenzie River'	tłı̨a	'puppy'
mbehcho	'big knife'	dlı̨̀a	'mouse'
sahcho	'grizzly bear'	chia	'duckling'
ʔahcho	'big snowshoe'	bebìa	'baby'
k'àmbacho	'turkey, chicken'	chı̨a	'bird'
ticho	'big lake'	chekoa	'boy, child'
chicho	'mallard'	t'ekoa	'young woman'
tłı̨cho	'horse'	ts'èkoa	'little girl'
elàcho	'big boat'	kǫ̀a	'shed, small house'
tǫhcho	'bucket, pail'	dǫa	'little man'
		dǫtsoa	'midget'
dzǫndeè	'feast day'	tia	'pond, small lake'
tindeè	'Great Slave Lake'	ndia	'small island'
yahtindeè	'bishop'		
kw'atindeè	'chief'	kegòò	'new shoes'
donendeè	'crowd'	mbehchı̨gòò	'new sled'
		chekogòò	'teen-age boy'
tǫhch'ih	'garbage pail'		
goht'ǫǫch'ih	'rags'		
t'asìich'ih	'garbage'		

There are two types of exceptions, (i) words which seem to be better written as two words, and (ii) words in which the qualifier is prefixed with **go-**. Examples of these cases are given below:

mamà cho	'(great) grandmother'	kǫ̀ gocho	'big building'
babà cho	'(great) grandfather'	kǫ̀ gondeè	'city'
		kǫ̀ gozhǫa	'little old house'
		kǫ̀ gogòò	'new house'

3.9 Postpositions

Postpositional stems cannot occur alone in speech, but must always be accompanied by a noun (or noun phrase), or a pronoun prefix. When a noun or noun phrase occurs with the postposition, the postposition will be written as a separate word. The pronoun + postposition will be written as a single word.

ts'èko xè	'with the woman'	sexè	'with me'
ladà k'e	'on the table'	wek'e	'on it'
daehte nechàa tł'a	'under the big bed'	nets'ǫ	'from you'
ehtsèe gha	'for grandfather'	wemǫǫ	'around it'

3.9.1 Compounds with postpositions

When a noun + postposition form a compound noun, this combination is written as a single word, as in the following words for example:

xèhts'ǫ̀	'evening'	xok'e	'winter'
łik'è	'spring'	tik'e	'water hole'
ejak'è	'window'	sǫǫ̀mbak'è	'Yellowknife'
mǫǫ̀lak'è	'buttonhole'		

3.9.2 Postpositions as part of verbs

Postpositions are to be written as part of the verb word when they are considered to be part of the verb in terms of meaning.

bebìa k'èndì	's/he is looking after the baby'
yek'èndì	's/he is looking after her/him'
neʔe ts'ànetła	'visit your uncle'
sets'ànetła	'visit me'

4. Punctuation

4.1 Capital letters

Capital letters are to be used as in English.

4.2 Punctuation marks

Punctuation marks are to be used as in English, except that quotation marks will not be used, since in the words themselves there is an indication that someone is speaking.

An example is given below of the use of capitals and of punctuation.

Joe hadi, Sachǫ hoɩzɩ nɩdè, Dlòndia ts'ǫ̀ tłɩ saachi ha.

Joe said, "If tomorrow is nice, the dogs will take me to Dlòndia."

Gwich'in Technical Report

Introduction

The recommendations for standardizing Gwich'in orthography which are included in this report have been ratified by the Gwich'in speakers of Fort McPherson, NWT. The important and fundamental decision that the new orthography (developed in Alaska and the Yukon) should be promoted in preference to the older McDonald orthography has been taken.

Gwich'in is spoken across more political boundaries than the other northern Athapaskan languages. For this reason, and since the dialects are mutually intelligible, decisions concerning orthography standardization should ideally be made by speakers from all dialect areas. Furthermore, decisions need to be taken primarily by those familiar with the issues and by elders. This demands the active involvement of language teachers, and all those who are literate in both orthographies.

Some of the questions which have been addressed in standardizing the Gwich'in writing system include:

-Should Gwich'in speakers in Alaska, the Yukon and the NWT use the same symbols and conventions when writing their language?

-Should variation between speakers within a community and between communities be encoded in the writing system, or should standard, non-variable spellings be used?

-Should redundant information (such as word initial glottal stop) be included in the writing system, and if so, to what degree should the writing system be redundant?

-Should phonetic alternates of a given lexical item be represented in the same way at all times? For example, in Gwich'in, should the different pronunciations of the prefix meaning "my" be written, or should this prefix be written in one consistent way, and language learners be taught that there are different pronunciations possible?

The recommendations given in this report have been guided by several premises:

-That Gwich'in orthography conform as much as is reasonably possible with that of other Athapaskan languages.

-That general linguistic principles influence what might otherwise be arbitrary decisions.

-That any decisions taken be practically feasible, that is that such changes as may be required be implemented with a minimum amount of effort on the part of already literate Gwich'in speakers.

-That already existing writing symbols and conventions be taken into account when making decisions.

1.0 On defining the Gwich'in alphabet symbols

1.1 Replace the symbol < ? > with the symbol < ' >.

The symbol <?> stands for a sound which is called a glottal stop. It sounds like a popping noise. In Alaska, this sound is written using a single quote mark < ' >. Consonants which are pronounced with a popping noise, also known as glottalized consonants, are to be written with a single quote mark following the consonant symbol. These consonants are: < t' tł' tth' ts' ch' tsh' ts' k' n'>.

Standard:	at'an'	leaf
	nin'	moss
	ts'ee nakal'	raspberries
	echì'	corpse, carcass

1.2 Continue to use < kh > instead of < x >.

The sound which has been written using <kh> in Gwich'in is written using <x> in other Dene languages in the NWT. Since the symbol <kh> is also used in Alaska, it is retained for Gwich'in in the NWT.

Standard:	khah	packsack
	kheh	goose
	khòo'	raft

1.3 Continue to write long vowels as double vowels.

Long vowels have traditionally been written as double vowels in all the Dene languages, and so will continue to be written this way.

Standard:	naagaii	beads
	neekaii	two
	aat'oo	birch
	gwitshìi	front
	aghòo	eggs
	guuk'ih	their tracks

1.4 Write nasal vowels with a subscript hook wherever they are pronounced.

In the dialects spoken in the NWT, nasal vowels are only pronounced in prefixes (i.e. a part that is added onto the beginning of a word). Compare the following examples from Fort Yukon and Fort McPherson:

Fort Yukon	Fort McPherson	
łaɨɨ	łaii	dog
daazrąɨɨ	daraii	swan
naagąɨɨ	naagaii	beads

Nasal vowels do not show up in the Fort McPherson dialect except in prefixes, as shown below in these words from this dialect:

ałtsih	I'm making it
nąhtsih	You're making it
ahtsih	He's making it

For dialects of the NWT, nasal vowels should be marked with a subscript hook wherever they are pronounced.

Standard:	nąhtsih	You're making it

1.5 Use the symbols < zr > and < sr > rather than the symbols < zhr > and < shr >.

Use the symbols <zr> and <sr> instead of the symbols <zhr> and <shr> at all times. This simplifies the writing system.

Standard:	zraii	black
	sriijaa	grayling

1.6 Use the symbols < tł > and < tł' > rather than the symbols < tl > and < tl' >.

In the other NWT Dene writing systems, these sounds have always been written < dl tł tł'>. All Dene writing systems, including Gwich'in, also use the symbols < l ł >.

Standard:	daatłìh	soap
	tł'oo	grass

1.7 Any sequences of glottalized consonant followed by [y] should be written < C'y > rather than < Cy' >.

The single quote mark which follows a glottalized consonant should be written right after the consonant. Since a [y] cannot be glottalized, the quote mark should not follow the [y]. Although Alaskan writers follow this convention, it is inaccurate, and should not be used by Gwich'in writers in the NWT.

Standard:	dinjii zhuh k'yuu	native language
	gwich'yàa'	clothing

1.8 Retain the symbols < u > and < uu > .

While it is possible to write these sounds in different ways, for example as <io> and <ioo>, these changes would be too great for already literate Gwich'in speakers. Therefore the traditional symbols <u> and <uu> have been retained.

Standard:	łuk	fish
	dluh	cold
	tryuh	otter
	ch'yuh	coals
	gyuu	worm

1.9 Remove the symbols < rʔ >, and < nj > from the alphabet.

The symbols <rʔ> and <nj> should not be included in the alphabet because these are just two consonants in a row which already have alphabet symbols. They can be written using the symbols <r>, < ' >, < n >, and <j>.

2.0 On the use of symbols

2.1 Do not write glottal stop at the beginning of a word when the word begins with a vowel.

A glottal stop is always pronounced if a word begins with a vowel. Because we know that a glottal stop will be pronounced if the word starts with a vowel, we do not need to write glottal stop at the beginning of the word. While glottal stop may be difficult to hear at the beginning of words, it shows up clearly when a prefix is added:

'ałtài'	bow
sha'ałtài'	my bow

We would always write glottal stop when it is no longer at the beginning of a word, for example:

shi'ik	my jacket
taa'aii	paddle

Standard:	aih	snowshoe
	sha'àii'	my snowshoe

2.2 Write low tone wherever it occurs.

Until recently, low tone was not written by Gwich'in speakers, since fluent speakers could determine which word was meant given two identically spelled words, from the context. However, there are advantages to writing low tone, especially for language learners. It is not possible to predict which vowel will have low tone, and if low tone is marked, the language learner will correctly pronounce a word. An incorrect pronunciation (with high tone rather than low tone, for example) would lead to misunderstanding among his listeners. Additionally, if low tone is not marked, a large number of words which are spelled the same but pronunced differently will result. For example, **shih** would be the spelling for both "bear" and "meat", and without any context, it would not be possible to differentiate the meanings. Even with a context, ambiguity could result.

It is not necessary to mark high tone on vowels since any vowel which is not marked with low tone will have high tone. Low tone is marked above a vowel using a grave accent.

Standard:	zhòh	wolf
	zhoh	snow
	shìh	meat
	shih	bear

2.3 When a word ends in a short vowel followed by a glottal stop, always write low tone.

It is difficult to hear whether tone is high or low on a short vowel before a glottal stop. We have agreed to write low tone on short vowels before a glottal stop, based on what we know about the history of the language.

Standard:	aghò'	someone's tooth

2.4 Write glottal stop at the end of a word when it follows a short vowel.

Glottal stop should always be written at the end of a word when it follows a short vowel. There are several reasons for this. First, short vowels cannot occur at the end of a word all by themselves. Second, the standard practice in Alaska is to write glottal stop at the end of the word after short vowels, and to mark the vowel as low tone. When glottal stop occurs at the end of the word after long vowels with low tone, it is not written.

Standard: k'ì' arrow

2.5 Mark low tone on the first symbol in long vowels, vowel sequences and diphthongs.

In Alaska, we need to mark tone on both symbols in long vowels, vowel sequences and diphthongs because we have rising or falling tones. In the NWT, we do not have falling or rising tones, and so we just mark low tone on the first symbol, for example <ìi òa àii >. (In Alaska, a hachek would be used to mark rising tone, and a caret to mark falling tone.)

Standard: ginìidìkhìh we are speaking

2.6 Do not write glottal stop at the end of a word when it follows a long low tone vowel.

A glottal stop always is pronounced when there is a long low tone vowel at the end of a word. Because we can predict that there will be a glottal stop after a long low tone vowel, we do not need to write the glottal stop.

We always write a glottal stop at the end of a word when it follows a consonant, for example:

shikwàan' my fire
ezhir' bull moose

A glottal stop is never pronounced at the end of a word when it follows a long high tone vowel, for example:

chúu water

Standard: dàii fly

2.7 Whenever there are two possible pronunciations of a word, spell the word with the [kh] pronunciation.

Older and more conservative speakers often pronounce a word with a [kh] sound, while younger and more innovative speakers use an [h] sound for the same word. For example:

Conservative	Innovative	
khąi'	hąi'	Thank you
deetokh	deetoh	across

Since the pronunciations in Gwich'in reflect a difference between conservative or older forms, and innovative or newer forms, and since it is generally advisable to retain information about conservative forms, it is recommended that the spellings which reflect the [kh] pronunciation be used.

Standard:	deetokh	across

3.0 Word divisions

3.1 Write **nat/kat, kwah, lee, gwat, ts'at** and **hah**, separate from the word.

The words **nat** and **kat** are plural markers. The word **kwah** is a negative marker meaning "not". It is pronounced **kwaa** when it is not at the end of the sentence. The word **lee** is a question marker. The word **gwat** means "but". The word **ts'at** means "and". The word **hah** is a topic conjoining marker which is used in certain sentence types in the place of **ts'at**.

We recommend that all of these "little words" or particles be written separately in Gwich'in.

Standard:	dinjii nat	people
	Niłʼin kwah.	I don't see him.
	Dinjik lee t'iinch'uh?	Is it a moose?
	Ahą' nuh, gwat	He said yes, but
	gat'iiniidhan kwah.	he didn't like it.
	Mary, John hah chuuzhih.	Mary went with John.
	Mary, John ts'at	Mary, John and
	Adam uu'an chuuzhii.	Adam went off.

3.2 Write **choo** and **tsal** as part of the word when the word has a different meaning than a phrase would have.

The word **choo** means "big", and the word **tsal** means "small" when used in a phrase. The words **choo** and **tsal** can also be used to build new words, in which case they no longer strictly mean "big" or "small". Compare the following examples, the first two of which are phrases, and the second two of which are new words built using either **choo** or **tsal**:

łuk choo	big fish
tr'iinin tsal	small child
łukchoo	king salmon

Whenever **choo** or **tsal** is added to a word to build a new word, it should be written as part of the word. When **choo** or **tsal** simply describes a word in a sentence, it should be written separately.

Standard:	łaiichoo	horse
	chuuchoo	ocean
	tł'oochoo	rope
	gwitsal	it is small

3.3 Always write a postposition separate unless it takes a prefix or it cannot be separated from a verb (i.e. it is part of the verb itself).

A postposition is a word which follows a noun, such as **chii**, **kwantat**, or **tr'ih**. Some postpositions include **kak**, **ts'at**, **hah**, and **eenjit**. A postposition is always written on its own, unless it occurs with a prefix, such as **gwi-** in the word **gwits'at**. The only other time a postposition is not written separately is when it is part of a verb, for example the postposition **-na-** in the verb **nah'in'**. The following examples show a postposition written on its own, a postposition written together with a prefix, and a postposition written together with a verb:

John, srii hah łuk t'ih.	John cut the fish with a knife.
Gwit'eh tr'ahch'uh gwizhit łuhch'uh dha'aih.	The bread is in the oven.
Mary John nah'in'.	Mary watched John.

Standard:	Mary, chii kak dhidih.	Mary sat on a rock.
	K'eedài' John, Mary ts'at giinkhìi.	Yesterday John spoke to Mary.
	John kwantat gwits'at ahaa.	John walked to town.
	John tr'ih ts'at gwinah'in.	John looks at the boat.

3.4 Always write the formal, slow speech forms of words.

In Gwich'in, as in any language, there is a difference between formal, careful, slow speech and informal, fast speech. Most, if not all, written texts in any language encode the slow speech forms. Compare the examples of slow speech and fast speech given below:

Slow speech	Fast speech
I want to go	I wanna go
Did you eat?	Djeet?
Do you know what I am going to do?	Y'know what'm gonna do?

While it should be emphasized that fast speech forms are normal, and that in fact, everyone does use informal and formal speech depending on the situation in which he/she is speaking (e.g. a religious speech vs. a chat on the street with a friend), the slow speech forms are preferable to use in writing. The major reason for this is that it aids the language learner in identifying grammatically important parts of words, and in seeing the relationship between words and parts of words.

3.5 Always choose the conservative forms as the standard forms when writing.

In some cases, contracted or shortened forms have become normal for younger speakers of Gwich'in. In these cases, contracted forms should be checked against the speech of elders in a community, in order to determine what the formal speech form would be. Conservative forms are to be chosen in preference to the innovative forms when writing Gwich'in words. The reasons for choosing conservative forms are:

- conservative speech preserves important grammatical information
- conservative forms reflect the speech of elders who are culturally important.

Innovative	Conservative	
t'agwa'ah	t'agwaha'ah	he will work
tr'it	gwitr'it	he works
vichì'	vitshì'	his head

3.6 When two parts of a compound word cannot stand alone, they are to be written as one word.

A compound word is a word which is built up of two (or more) words. Nouns, verbs or postpositions can be added together to build a new, compound word in Gwich'in. Examples of compound words are given below:

Nesrijahch'uu k'anahtih they are poor-he takes care of them	social worker
tr'igiikhii zheh they are speaking-house	church
gwit'eh tr'ahch'uh it-under-they cook	oven
dzih daatłih gum-soap	lye

We always write a compound word as two separate words, unless one part of the compound word cannot be written as a word on its own. For example, look at the following compound word:

łukvir	boiled fish
łuk	fish
yahvir	he cooks

In this case, one part of the compound, **-vir**, cannot be written as a word on its own. Both parts of the compound word, **łuk** and **-vir**, must be written together as one word.

Standard:	dzih daatłih	lye
	łukvir	boiled fish
	ninji'ihthat	I think

3.7 When compounds contain three or more parts, each part is to be written separately.

Whenever a compound word is built up of three or more words, each word must be written separately. In this case, it does not matter whether each part can be written as a word on its own or not.

Standard:	vanchòh nak'òh zhàk dhitin	nine
	tthah tsal dhoh	sewing bag

3.8 Write the possessive prefix as part of the noun.

A possessive prefix is a part added to the beginning of a noun, and carries the meaning "my" or "your" or "his/her", etc. It is always written together with the noun.

Standard:	shitì'	my father
	nitì'	your father

4.0 Punctuation

4.1 Use quotation marks. Use English punctuation and capitalization practices.

The standard practice in writing Gwich'in has been to follow English capitalization and punctuation practices. The rules of capitalization are given below:

1. Capitalize the first letter only in a digraph such as:
ch, ch', dh, dl, dr, dz, gw, kw, kh, ng, sh, sr, th, tł, tl', tr, ts', ts, ts', zh

2. Capitalize the first letter only in a trigraph such as:
ddh, dzh, ghw, khw, tth, tth', tsh, tsh'

3. Capitalize both parts of a compound word if the word is a proper noun (such as a person's name or place name):

Chuuvee Gwich'in	Aklavik people
Ddhah Zhit Han	Rat River
Teetł'it Zheh	Fort McPherson
Drit	man's name

While a question mark <?> is not actually required in Gwich'in because the particle **lee** is used in all questions, it is suggested that writing a question mark may assist language learners. It is recommended that a double space be left between a glottal stop, written < '> and quote marks < " > to eliminate any possible confusion.

Standard: "John, aanaih, jii gwinyąh'in," juunuh.
"John, come and see this," he said.

4.2 Gwich'in alphabet symbols and alphabetic order

The alphabetic order and standard symbols of the Gwich'in alphabet are given below. This order should be used in all dictionaries.

'	daa'aii	axe
a	at'àn'	leaf
ai	taih	hill

ao	gaonahtan	teacher
b	bèebii	baby
ch	chii	rock
ch'	ch'ìk	plate
d	dinjii	man
ddh	ddhah	mountain
dh	dhik'ii	arctic char
dl	dlak	squirrel
dr	drah	cache
dz	dzan	muskrat
dzh	dzhii	bird
e	eltin	jackfish
eii	gwiinleii	many
g	geh	rabbit
gh	aghòo	egg
ghw	ghwàn	lumpy
gw	gwitsàk	nails
h	han	river
i	ineedzit	bumblebee
j	jak	berries
k	kaiitrih	mukluks
k'	k'àii	willow
kh	khyàh	trap
khw	nakhwanh	us
kw	kwàn'	fire, matches
l	lìdii	tea
ł	łaii	dog
m	mahsì'	thank you
n	niinjii	lynx
n'	nìn'	moss
nd	ndèe	eyes
ng	dàang	four
nh	vahanh	her mother
o	òk	eddy
r	chìiruk	comb
s	san'	star
sh	shih	grizzly bear
sr	srii	knife
t	tah	socks
t'	t'eh	feather

th	thoh	belt
tth	tthah	awl
tth'	tth'an	bone
tł	jak tłoo	berry pudding
tł'	tł'oo	grass
tr	troo	firewood
tr'	tr'ih	boat
ts	tsèe	beaver
ts'	ts'it	porcupine
tsh	teetshik	creek
tsh'	tsh'yùh	charcoal
u	łuk	fish
v	van	lake
y	yakaih	northern lights
z	sriizaii	blunt knife
zh	zhòh	wolf
zr	daazraii	swan

North Slavey Technical Report

I. Introduction: the goals of the committee

North Slavey can be divided into three major dialects, Rádeyɭɭ, Délɭne, and Tulít'a. K'áhbamɭtúé is similar to Radeyɭɭ. The community of Tulít'a has two major dialects spoken within it. Some speakers use a dialect very similar to that of Délɭne, which can be called the kw dialect, while others use the dialect that is labelled Tulít'a in this report, or the p dialect. Speakers from Rádeyɭɭ and K'áhbamɭtúé use the f dialect. When the statement is made that Tulít'a has certain characteristics, it is generally the p dialect that is focussed on.

The task of devising an orthographic system that is suitable for use across the dialects found within North Slavey was undertaken. Two major issues involved in standardization were considered. The first issue involved questions of orthographic standardization that arise in deciding on orthographic conventions for any language. Specific questions included choice of orthographic symbols, word divisions, and punctuation. The second issue was specific to the multidialectal situation such as that found in North Slavey. The major issue concerned how to deal with variation of sounds both within and between dialects using a phonetically based writing system such as the one used for North Slavey. Various kinds of dialects are found within North Slavey:

(1) Geographical dialects: People from different areas often speak in slightly different ways. The geographical differences between the North Slavey dialects are quite noticeable. These include the following: (a) speakers from Délɭne use [kw] where those from Rádeyɭɭ use [f] and those from Tulít'a use [p]; (b) speakers from Rádeyɭɭ place high tones on a syllable preceding a verb stem while speakers from Délɭne and Tulít'a have high tones on verb stems; (c) speakers from Délɭne and Tulít'a use [n] where speakers from Rádeyɭɭ use both [n] and [r]. There are also differences in choice of vocabulary. For instance, people in Rádeyɭɭ and Tulít'a use the word ʔɭyę for 'meat' while those in Délɭne use bé.

(2) Social differences: Different social groups within a society may speak differently. For instance, the speech of young people may differ from that of the elders in some ways. There may be some differences between men's speech and women's speech.

(3) Stylistic differences: A particular individual speaks in different ways on different occasions. For instance, most people use one style of speech in a formal situation and another style of speech in a less formal situation. For most people, there are differences in style between speech and writing. These stylistic differences may be in terms of sounds, vocabulary, and sentence structure.

With respect to the different types of dialects it was decided not to judge which of the different kinds of dialects is 'correct', but to try to find a writing system that can accommodate all the different kinds of dialects.

The general guidelines used in making decisions about handling the multidialectal situation are stated below:

(1) In general, a phonetically based writing system is used. Each letter of the alphabet represents a single sound and each sound is represented by a single letter.

(2) In order to preserve the Slavey language, the written form should be based on the most conservative form spoken as determined by the majority of elders in the community.

(3) When there are geographically-based differences, the most conservative form of the word found within the community where the material is being prepared is to be written.

II. The North Slavey Alphabet

The letters of the North Slavey alphabet are given below, with an example word from each of the three major dialects. Délı̨ne words can also be found in Tulít'a.

	Délı̨ne	Rádeyı̨lı̨	Tulít'a	
ʔ	ʔah	ʔah	ʔah	'snowshoe'
a	sah	sah	sah	'bear'
á	bá	bá	bá	'mitts'
ą	ʔąʔąlé	ʔąʔąlé	ʔąʔąlé	'black duck'
ą́	łą́hdı̨ı̨	lą́hdı̨	łą́hdı̨ı̨	'seven'
b	bebí	bebí	bebí	'baby'
ch	chǫ	----	chǫ	'rain'
ch'	ch'oh	ch'oh	ch'oh	'quills'
d	dene	dene	dene	'person'
dl	dlı̨e	dlǫ	dlı̨a	'mouse'
dz	dzə́	dzə́	dzə́	'gum'
e	tse	se	tse	'firewood'
é	tsé	sé	tsé	'button'
ę	tę	tę	tę	'ice'
ę́	whę́	wę́	fę́	'star'
ə	kə	kə	kə	'slippers'
ə́	tə́	tə́	tə́	'mat'
f	lífaré	lífarí	lífaré	'flour'
g	gah	gah	gah	'rabbit'
gh	ʔeghé	ʔeghə́	ʔeghé	'egg'

gw	nágwe	rágwe	----	's/he lives'
h	hetsə	hesə	hetsə	's/he cries'
i	dih	dih	dih	'chicken'
í	jía	jíye	jíe	'berry'
ı	k'ı	k'ı	k'ı	'birch'
í	k'í	k'í	k'í	'arrow'
j	jú	jú	jú	'hook'
k	kǫ́	kǫ́	kǫ́	'fire'
kw	kwə	----	----	'rock'
k'	k'o	k'o	k'o	'cloud'
kw'	kw'i	----	----	'mosquito'
l	libó	libó	libó	'cup'
ł	náídíłine	ráídihłini	náídíłini	'poison'
m	mí	mí	mí	'net'
n	nǫ́da	nǫ́da	nǫ́da	'lynx'
o	k'o	k'o	k'o	'cloud'
ó	xóe	xóye	xóy	'snare'
ǫ	chǫ	shǫ	chǫ	'rain'
ǫ́	kǫ́	kǫ́é	kǫ́	'house'
p	libáp	libáp'Pope'	pə	'rock'
p'	----	----	p'i	'mosquito'
r	túri	túri	túri	'duck'
s	sadzə́	sadzə́	sadzə́	'watch'
sh	shá	shá	shá	'knot'
t	tatsǫ́	tasǫ́	tatsǫ́	'raven'
t'	t'ó	t'óé	t'óli	'paddle'
tł	tłı	----	tłı	'dog'
tł'	tł'u	tł'u	tł'u	'rope'
ts	tsá	----	tsá	'beaver'
ts'	ts'ale	ts'ale	ts'ali	'frog'
u	tu	tu	tu	'water'
ú	zhú	zhú	zhú	'clothing'
ų	ch'ųa	(rarely found)	ch'ue	'porcupine'
v	----	----	sevá	'my mouth'
w	sewá	sewá	----	'my mouth'
wh	wha	----	----	'sand'

w'	----	w'i	----	'mosquito'
x	xah	xah	xah	'goose'
y	yahtı	yahtı	yahtı	'priest'
z	tehzá	tehzá	tehzá	'polar bear'
zh	zhú	zhú	zhú	'clothing'

III. Defining the North Slavey Alphabet Symbols

1. Mid front tense vowel

There are two mid front vowels in North Slavey, with one tenser and longer than the other. The first is similar in sound to the ai in the English word 'bait.' The other one is similar in sound to the e in the English word 'bet.'

Use ə for the mid front tense vowel currently written as ee, as in the word bə 'knife', unless it is a sequence of e plus e, as in the word wéehkw'ę 'I'm listening'. Use e for the mid front lax vowel as in the word té 'cane'.

The examples below compare words with the vowel ə, the vowel e, and the vowel sequence ee.

i.	tə́	'mat'
	cp. té	'cane'
	cp. wéehkw'ę	'I hear it' (Délıne)
ii.	níkenıdə	'they arrived' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
	cp. k'ínakedé	'they walk around'
iii.	bə	'knife'
	cp. bé	'food' (Rádeyılı)

2. The sequences ay and oy

The symbol ay should be used rather than ai. The spelling ae can also be used. Possible spellings for words that contain this sequence are given below.

xay, xaye, xae	'winter'
k'áy, k'áye, k'áe	'willow'

The spelling with the y brings out the similarities between the pronunciation xay and xaye and allows the same spelling as the possessed form beghayé 'his/her months, winters'.

The symbol oy should be used instead of oi. The spelling oe can also be used. Possible spellings for words containing this sequence are given below.

xóy, xóye, xóe 'snare'

The spelling with the y brings out the similarities between the pronunciation xóy and xóye and allows the same spelling as the possessed form beghóyé 'his/her snare'.
These two spelling conventions hold when the two sounds are part of the same meaningful unit, and not when they are in different units.

3. Tones

Write high tone (an accent mark over the vowel) where it is heard.

Phonetically, there are mid tones (tones that are higher than low tone, but not as high as high tone) in North Slavey. Only high tone is to be written. Mid tones are predictable from tonal sequences, and do not need to be written in any special way.

shéhítı	'we two eat' (Rádeyıłı)
tıch'adí	'animal' (Rádeyılı, Délıne)

IV. The Use of Symbols

1. Glottal stops (ʔ)

Write glottal stops whenever they are clearly pronounced.

beʔóné	'beyond it'
feʔǫ	'it is located' (Tulıt'a)
seʔáwé	'my hip' (Délıne)

There are some circumstances in which a glottal stop is not necessarily heard, but in which it is written.

Write glottal stops in what appear to be vowel-initial words.

ʔah	'snowshoe'
ʔehkə	'boy'
ʔehdzoo	'trap'
ʔeghele	'drum' (Délıne)
ʔelá	'boat'
ʔıt'ǫ́	'leaf, flower, green'

There is a test for whether a noun really begins with a glottal stop or with a vowel. If one of the possessive prefixes (se-, ne-, be-, etc.) is put before the noun, the glottal stop will be pronounced when the word is possessed. If the word does not begin with a glottal stop, there will not be a glottal stop present when the word is possessed.

Write a glottal stop between vowels if it can be pronounced in this position.

i. **pronunciation:** náʔenelu, náenelu 's/he sews' (Délıne,Tulít'a)

spelling: náʔenelu

ii. **pronunciation:** beshǫʔerihse, beshǫerihse 'I broke it open' (Rádeyıłı)
spelling: beshǫʔerihse

2. Nasalized vowels

2.1 Writing nasalization

Write nasalization on a vowel when the vowel has distinctive nasalization. In general, in stems a nasal consonant (n, m) is followed by a nasalized vowel (as in examples i-iv). In prefixes, the vowel following a nasal consonant may be oral or nasal (as in examples v, vi).

i.	mı̨	'net'
ii.	nǫ́da	'lynx'
iii.	nę	'land'
iv.	sınį senį	'my face'
v.	seghánıʔǫ	's/he gave it to me'
	cp. beghániʔǫ	'I gave it to him/her' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
vi.	nágozhə	's/he plays' (Délıne, Tulít'a)

2.2 Nasalized vowel-vowel sequences

In the sequence nasalized vowel - vowel, the second vowel may sound nasalized, although the morpheme that it is in has an oral vowel. For example, the word 'my dog' may be pronounced [selıé], [selıę́], or [selię́]. The vowel [é] is a suffix that indicates that the noun is possessed and it occurs in many other words simply as [é]: [selıé] 'my dog'. In a word such as 'duck', the pronunciation may be [chıa] or [chıą]. The second vowel is a form of the diminutive suffix.

In nasalized vowel-vowel sequences where the second vowel is part of a morpheme that has an oral vowel in other environments, the sequence is to be written as nasalized vowel - oral vowel. For example, write a word like 'my dog' as selıé and a word like 'duck' as chıa even though they can be pronounced in different ways.

3. Sound Variation within a dialect

3.1 zh-y

There is variation between the sounds [zh] and [y]. Some words can be pronounced with either [zh] or [y]. Some words must be pronounced with [y] and can never be pronounced with [zh]. However, any word that can be pronounced with [zh] can also be pronounced with [y].

If a word can be pronounced with either [zh] or [y], write zh. If it can be pronounced only with [y], write y.

i. **pronunciation:** zha, ya 'snow'
spelling: zha

ii **pronunciation:** gózhə, góyə 'in an area' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
spelling: gózhə

iii. **pronunciation:** nágozhə, nágoyə 's/he plays' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
spelling: nágozhə

pronunciation and spelling:

i. ʔeghálayehda 'I work'

ii. yiʔá 'I ate it'

iii. begháyúhda 'I will, want to see it' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)

3.2 gh-w

If a word can be pronounced with either [gh] or [w], write gh. Write w if it can be pronounced only with [w].

i. **pronunciation:** seghú, sewú 'my tooth'
spelling: seghú

ii. **pronunciation:** sı̨ghǫ́, sı̨wǫ́ 'my nose'
spelling: sı̨ghǫ́

pronunciation and spelling:

i. sewá 'my mouth' (Délıne, Rádeyıłı)

ii. k'áhowe 'boss' (Délıne, Rádeyıłı)

3.3 gh-y

If a word can be pronounced with either [gh] or [y], write gh. Write y if it can be pronounced only with [y].

i. **pronunciation:** deghə, deyə 'it is calm' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
spelling: deghə

ii. **pronunciation:** naghı, nayı 'it thaws' (Délıne)
spelling: naghı

pronunciation and spelling:

i. ʔeghálayeda 's/he works'

3.4 gw-b (Rádeyıłı)

In Rádeyıłı, there is variation between the sounds [gw] and [b]. Some words can be pronounced with either [gw] or [b]. Some words must be pronounced with [b] and can never be pronounced with [gw]. Any word that can be pronounced with [gw] can also be pronounced with [g].

If a word can be pronounced with either [gw] or [b], write gw. If it can be pronounced only with [b], write b.

i. **pronunciation:** rágwe, rábe 's/he lives, stays'
spelling: rágwe

ii. **pronunciation:** hígwage, híbage 'it is light-weight'
spelling: hígwageə

pronunciation and spelling:

i. bə 'knife'

ii. ʔabá 'father'

4. Sound variation between dialects

4.1 Rádeyɭlɭ high tones

In Rádeyɭlɭ Slavey, high tones that occur on verb stems in the other dialects occur on the syllable before the verb stem. This is a regular correspondence between dialects, with the Rádeyɭlɭ forms being totally predictable from the Délɭne and Tulít'a forms.

Rádeyɭlɭ	Délɭne	Tulít'a
néʔa	neʔá	'you eat it'
ʔeghálayeyida	ʔeghálayeyidá	'I worked'

Write verb stem high tones where they actually are pronounced (on the syllable before the stem).

4.2 [d] and [r] in Délɭne and Tulít'a

In Délɭne and Tulít'a, some prefixes may begin with either [d] or [r] depending on where they occur in the word. In general, when one of these prefixes occurs first in the word it begins with [d]. If another prefix is placed before it, then the prefix begins with [r]. In Rádeyɭlɭ, these prefixes always begin with a [d]. In Délɭne and Tulít'a, there are some speakers that are more like Rádeyɭlɭ, and use [d] most of the the time. Write d when the sound is pronounced as [d] and write r when the sound is pronounced as [r].

i. **pronunciation:** déhtła 's/he went'
spelling: déhtła
pronunciation: naréhtła 's/he went back'
spelling: naréhtła

ii. **pronunciation:** ʔerɭtł'é dɭtł'é 'you write a letter'
spelling: ʔerɭtł'é dɭtł'é

4.3 Rádeyɭlɭ n/r

Where Délɭne and Tulít'a use [n] in prefixes, Rádeyɭlɭ sometimes uses [n] and sometimes uses [r]. [n] is used when there is a nasal following in the morpheme, and [r] is used if there is not.

ʔeréhʔɭ	'I steal'
ʔenɪ́ʔɭ	'you steal'

There are a few exceptions. In ne- 'you singular', nə- 'across', and ne- adjectival (nezǫ), [n] is always used in Rádeyɭlɭ even though there is not a following nasal. In the Rádeyɭlɭ dialect, write n where [n] is heard and r where [r] is heard.

4.4 kw-p-f, kw'-p'-w', gw-b-gw, wh-f-w, w-v-w

There are regular sound correspondences between Délɭne, Rádeyɭlɭ, and Tulít'a between several sounds. (The Délɭne sounds are also found in Tulít'a.)

Délɭne	Tulít'a	Rádeyɭlɭ	
kwə	pə	fə	'rock'
kw'i	p'i	w'i	'mosquito'
nágwe	nábe	rágwe, rábe	'she, he lives, stays'
wha	fa	wa	'sand'
sewá	sevá	sewá	'my mouth'

Write these sounds as they are pronounced for each dialect.

4.5 ts/s, ch/sh, tł/ł correspondences

Where an affricate is found in the Délɭne and Tulít'a dialects, a voiceless fricative is found in the Rádeyɭlɭ dialect.

Délɭne, Tulít'a	Rádeyɭlɭ	
tłe	łe	'oil, lard'
tse	se	'firewood'
ʔehchá (Délɭne)	ʔehshá	'skirt'
ʔɭhchá (Tulít'a)		

Write these sounds as they are pronounced for each dialect.

5. Variation across dialects

5.1 Intervocalic glides

In all dialects, the glides w, y, h, and ʔ in prefixes are frequently lost in normal speech.

náʔenelu	náenelu	's/he sews' (Délɭne, Tulít'a)
ʔedeyɭtł'é	ʔedeɭtł'é	's/he wrote'
ʔeghálayehda	ʔeghálaehda	'I work'
begháyuhdá	begháuhdá	'I will, want to see it' (Délɭne, Tulít'a)
shéwohtɭ	shéohtɭ	'I will, want to eat'

náwohzá	náohzá	'I will, want to hunt' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
tehętła	teętła	's/he went into water' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
k'ínahít'á	k'ínaít'á	'we two walk around' (Délı̨ne)

Write the full form, with the glide in it.

5.2 Lexical items

There are two types of differences in lexical items in the different dialects. First, the same word may be used, with small variations in pronunciation.

(38)	Délı̨ne	Tulít'a	Rádeyı̨lı̨	
	łue	łue	luge	'fish'
	ʔóe	ʔóe	ʔógé	'eddy'
	doo	doe	doge	'sheep'
	semíné	semı̨	semı̨́lé	'my net'
	too	teve	tewe	'night'
	nechá	nechá	hı̨sha	'it is big'

Second, entirely different words may be used.

Délı̨ne	Tulít'a	Rádeyı̨lı̨	
bé	ʔı̨yę	ʔı̨yę	'meat'
sǫlái	sǫlái	lak'e	'five'

Authors write the word the way it is said in their dialect.

There are some forms used primarily by older speakers and other forms used primarily by younger speakers. Some examples are given below.

primarily older	primarily younger	
sı̨lá	selá	'my hand'
sı̨néné	senéné	'my back' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
sı̨ghǫ́	seghǫ́	'my nose'

There are other cases that are perhaps instances of differences of this sort, or may be better attributable to place of origin or other factors.

dahsı̨i, t'ahsı̨i, ʔahsı̨i	'thing'
gokede or gogede (use of ke- or ge-)	'they speak'
túri - túre	'duck'
ts'ǫ́dani - ts'ǫ́dane	'child' (Délı̨ne, Rádeyı̨lı̨)

Use the more conservative form. (In some cases, this must be determined by interviewing elders within the community.)

6. Contractions

Some examples of contractions are given below.

full form	contracted form	
beghǫ shéetı	bǫ shéetı	's/he ate it' (Délıne)
ʔełeghǫ nakets'u	ʔehgho nakets'u	'they kiss each other' (Délıne)
nínanehja	níanehja	'I arrived back' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
rágokezhə	rókezhə, ráokezhə	'they play' (Rádeyıłı)
dalele	dalel	'floats'
dadí, daudí	dodí	'no'

Use full forms in writing. Teachers must recognize that this does not mean that it is wrong to use contracted forms in speech. The contracted forms can be introduced in the schools later on as part of curriculum development.

V. Word divisions

1. Compounds

Compounds are single lexical items that are made up of more than one word. They function as single items with respect to phonology and meaning. In one type of compound, the words within a compound occur independently. In a second type of compound, one of the words within the compound usually can occur independently, but the second cannot.

1.1 Noun-noun compounds

Write as a single word anything that functions in terms of meaning as a single item, with the exception of long invented forms.

The following compounds should be written as single words.

ʔedıtl'ékǫ́é	'school'
zhahtıkǫ́é	'church'
ʔahtł'u	'babiche'
dechıtene	'suitcase, wood box' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
sǫ́bawé	'wallet' (Délıne, Rádeyıłı)
jíetú	'wine, juice'
pígha	'hair' (Tulít'a)
zhúkǫ́	'store'
nazhats'a	'toque' (Délıne)
deshıtə́	'floor' (Rádeyıłı)
góhsimıłé	'spider web' (Rádeyıłı)

ʔidikóné	'lightning'
tłerék'óne	'candle' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
Tsǫ́tué	'Lac la Martre' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
Sǫ́bakǫ́é	'Yellowknife'

1.2 Compounds involving verbs

In general, compounds involving verbs are long, invented forms and should be written as separate words.

bet'á zhú k'enáts'enehtse	'washing machine' (Délı̨ne)
sasóné ráʔerelu	'sewing machine' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
bet'á zhú k'eʔets'edeʔá	'iron' (Délı̨ne)
ʔelá k'ínaret'a	'airplane' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
ʔehtséo Ayah ʔedı̨htl'ékǫ́	'name of school in Délı̨ne'

The compounds below should be written as single words, even though they involve verbs, so that they are not confused with the sentence forms.

	pronunciation		spelling
i.	ʔek'arék'óne	'candle' (Délı̨ne)	ʔek'arék'óne
	cp. ʔek'a dék'ǫ́	'fat burns'	ʔek'a dék'ǫ́
ii.	tłerekwoi	'butter' (Délı̨ne)	tłerekwoi
	cp. tłe dekwoi	'the lard is yellow'	tłe dekwoi

1.3 Noun-postposition compounds

Write compounds consisting of a noun plus a postposition as a single word.

deshı̨ta	'bush' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
xéhts'ę́	'evening'
kǫ́ta	'town'

Note a form such as kǫ́é gocho. This is written as two words. A form such as sahcho, on the other hand, is a single word. (See section 2.)

1.4 Proper names

Proper names are treated like compounds. The first letter of each word of a proper name should be capitalized.

Tsǫ́túé	'Lac la Martre' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
Sahdúé	'Bear island'
Gahmı̨́túé	'Rae Lakes'
K'áhbamı̨́túé	'Colville Lake'

Tłegǫ́łı	'Norman Wells' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
Sǫ́bakǫ́é	'Yellowknife'

ʔehtséo Ayah ʔedıhtł'ékǫ́ name of school in Délıne

2. Noun-qualifier forms

There are words that are made up of an independent noun followed by a stem or by a qualifier as a suffix. These are not really compounds, but are suffixed nouns. However, they fall under the same general guidelines as compound nouns with respect to word division.

Write qualifiers as part of the same word as the stem.

tł'otsę	'onion' (Délıne)
łéh'áwá	'bread'
zhahtıdéwé	'bishop' (Rádeyıłı)
shıhjíré	'punkwood, rotten wood' (Rádeyıłı)
dihcho	'turkey' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
sahsho	'grizzly bear' (Rádeyıłı)
ʔelácho	'barge' (Délıne, Tulít'a)
gahsho	'jack rabbit' (Rádeyıłı)
bəhzha	'jackknife, pocket knife'
ʔahzha	'woman's snowshoes'
ʔıts'ézha	'young moose'

3. Possessive constructions

In a possessive construction write the possessor and the possessed noun as a single word when the possessor is a pronoun. If the possessor is a noun, write the possessor and the possessed noun as two words.

sets'aré	'my hat'
selıé	'my dog'
bebehshíné	'his, her sled'
yenene ts'áré	'the woman's hat' (Rádeyıłı)
dene lıé	'person's dog' (Rádeyıłı)

4. Postpositional phrases

4.1 Postpositions and their objects

In a postpositional phrase, if the object of the postposition is a pronoun, write the postposition and its object as a single word. If the object is a noun or a sentence, write the object of the postposition as one word and the postposition as a separate word.

sehé	'with me'
bets'ę́	'to him, her, it'
bet'á	'by means of it'
nǫ́hbali ts'ę́	'to the tent' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
nǫ́hbali dedele ts'ę́	'to the red tent'

4.2 Postpositions and verbs

Write postpositions as independent from the verb unless they must always be part of the same word as the verb.

ı̨ts'é ts'ę́ ʔaketı̨	'they go to the moose' (postposition -ts'ę́)
tu ts'ę tánaréhja	's/he walked back from the lake' (Délı̨ne) (postposition -ts'ę)
sehé nágwe	's/he lives with me' (Délı̨ne) (postposition-hé)
ts'éré lı̨ k'e wéhshu	'the blanket is on the dog' (Rádeyı̨lı̨) (postposition -k'e)
ts'ǫ́dani gháyı̨da	'look at the child' (postposition -ghá)
goghániʔǫ	'I hand it to them (postposition -ghá)
t'ǝre bebi hek'édí	'the girl takes care of thebaby'(Rádeyı̨lı̨) (postposition -e)

5. ke (plural collective)

This morpheme is added to a noun or phrase to form a collective or group plural. It is pronounced as part of the same word as the preceding noun. It can also be added to a noun that consists of a whole sentence.

dene ke	'people'
tłı̨ ke	'dogs' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
yenene ke	'women' (Rádeyı̨lı̨)
tłı̨cho ke	'horses' (Délı̨ne, Tulít'a)
ts'ǫ́dane ke	'children'

dene gháyeyída i ke 'the people I saw' (Rádeyɭɭ)

Write ke as a separate word.

6. Particles

6.1 Particles as separate words

Write particles following nouns and verbs as separate words.

hehjɭ gha	'I am going to sing' (Délɭne, Tulít'a)
ʔeko nátła nǫ	'he went there apparently' (Délɭne)
ʔeyi la	'that particular one'

If there is more than one particle following a noun or verb, write each separately.

shéhtɭ gha ɭle	'I am not going to eat'
shéhtɭ́ gha dúyé	'I can't eat'

6.2 Negatives

The negative has various forms: yɭ́le, íle, yíle, ɭ́le, and le. (In the last one, the tone of the negative falls on the syllable that immediately precedes it.)

Write all forms of the negative, whether full or reduced, as a separate word.

shétɭ yíle	's/he isn't eating' (Rádeyɭɭ)
radéhła yíle	's/he didn't start back' (Rádeyɭɭ)
ʔǫt'é le	'it isn't'
shétɭ́ le	's/he isn't eating'
nezǫ́ le	'it is no good'

VI. Punctuation

1. Capitalization

Capitalize the first letter of a sentence and of a proper name. In a sound written with two or more letters, capitalize only the first letter.

Tsá	'beaver' (Délɭne, Tulít'a)
Kwə	'rock' (Délɭne)

2. Punctuation

Use periods, questions marks and commas as in English.

3. Quotations

Do not use quotation marks. The clause introducing the quotation should end with a comma, and the quotation itself should begin with a capital letter.

Andy kadi na, Sachǫ nı́dé nadehtła gha.
Andy said 'I will go tomorrow'. (Délı́ne)

4. Intonational tones

Do not write intonational tones, but only tones that are part of the word when it does not have a special intonational pattern.

Łéht'éwá nehtsı́?	'You made bread?' (a question where the expected answer is yes) (Délı́ne, Tulít'a)

5. Exclamations

A way of making an exclamation is by lengthening the last vowel of the sentence. In writing, repeat the vowel to indicate emphasis.

Łekǫ.	'It is tasty.' (Délı́ne)
Łekǫǫǫ!	'It is really tasty!'

South Slavey Technical Report

A. Defining the Dene Alphabet Symbols

Sounds requiring special (usually non-English) symbols, common to the Dene languages, should be represented by the following symbols:
/dh/, /th/, /ddh/, /tth/, /tth'/, /gh/, /ɬ/, /tɬ/, /tɬ'/, /x/, /zh/.

Further, the traditional diacritics are to be used: high tone for Slavey as in lidí; subscript for nasalization as in golǫ; and apostrophe for the glottalized consonants in Slavey, /ch'/, /k'/, /t'/, /tth'/, /tɬ'/, and /ts'/.

The alphabet order is that which has become traditional, following as closely as possible the English order.

B. The Use of Symbols

1. Glottal stop (ʔ)

This symbol poses some problems in Slavey, since the nature of the sound is such that in speech it can easily fluctuate in presence or absence word-initially and word-medially depending on environment, intonation, and other conditioning factors. This results in a good deal of ad hoc spelling, depending on whether the writer does or doesn't phonetically perceive the glottal. The one environment where it is consistently pronounced is in its stem-initial position. Because of these considerations, and because the practice of some teachers and writers over the past 20 or more years has demonstrated that no serious problem is encountered in restricting the writing of /ʔ/ to the stem-initial position only, the following decisions were taken:

a. Do not write /ʔ / word initially on prefixes. E.g., write

ats'ehʔɭ	not	ʔats'ehɭ
ehtsɭ	not	ʔehtsɭ
ííjɭ	not	ʔííjɭ
óohk'éh	not	ʔóohk'éh
úhk'éh	not	úhk'éh

b. Do not write /ʔ / word-medially on prefixes. E.g., write

náenelu	not	náʔenelu
níets'ɭhge	not	níʔets'ɭhge

c. Do not write /ʔ / word finally. Many words whose final syllable has a short vowel are widely pronounced with a final glottal stop. E.g., tsá[ʔ], ke[ʔ], chi[ʔ], náets'edló[ʔ], níts'ɻchu[ʔ]. This /ʔ / will not be written. Though there are some exceptions to this pronunciation of /ʔ / following a short vowel, e.g., golǫ, dene, sɻ, etc., the native speaker has no difficulty in properly identifying and articulating the written words.

d. Always write /ʔ / <u>stem</u>-initially. This is because (1) it is always pronounced in this position, and (2) the structure of Slavey requires minimally a CV pattern for stems. This rule involves the following:

(1) Write /ʔ / initially on the numerous verb stems which begin with glottal stop. E.g.,

-gháts'ɻʔáh	give
ts'edeʔéh	start out by boat
zhaaʔɻ	he/she saw it
ts'aaʔóh	be drifting

(2) Write /ʔ / initially on the small number of noun stems which begin with glottal stop:

ʔa	fog		
ʔah	snowshoes	meʔaa	his/her...
ʔe	coat, dress	meʔee	his/her...
-ʔeh	uncle	meʔeh	his/her...
ʔeh	beaver dam	meʔeh	his/her...

(There may be one or two more such nouns.)

(3) Write /ʔ / in the small number of postpositional or adverbial words which have a glottal stop initially or medially, since it is consistently pronounced:

ʔóné	beyond, over there
goʔǫ́ǫ	more than
meʔɻ́ę	behind it
-nahʔɻ́	out of sight
zhúéʔa	upside down

(There are a few more such adverbials or postpositions.)

2. /m/ and /mb/

There is often fluctuation between these two sounds. However, stems must be pronounced and spelled one way or the other: e.g., k'embe "he/she/it swims", and mbeh "knife" require the /mb/; tu emɨh "the water is rising" and gomǫ "someone's mother" must be spelled with the simple /m/.

In prefixes there is free fluctuation: mekǫ́ę́ "his/her house" is pronounced by some as mbekǫ́ę́; méohdeh "I'll grab (or arrest) him/her" is spoken by some as mbéohdeh. Either spelling will do, but since the /mb/ is never mandatory in prefixes, use of the simple /m/ is encouraged.

/n/ and /nd/

This pair is analogous to /m/ and /mb/. In stems, one or the other is mandatory e.g., gondíh "he/she/it is alive" may not be written (or pronounced) with the simple /n/; likewise ndéh "land" (noun) requires the /nd/. Again, néhnǫ, "he /she earned/won" must have the simple /n/ in the stem; mení "his/her face" similarly.

In prefixes nekǫ́ę́ "your house" is pronounced by some as ndekǫ́ę́; nínehtłah "I arrived" is often spoken níndehtłah. In these cases either symbol is permissable, but use of the simple /n/ is encouraged.

A few verb prefixes seem to require the /nd/ rather than the /n/. E.g., the following and possible a few others:

-**ndaa**ets'edehk'éh	practice shooting
e**łendah**ts'ɨʔáh	trade, exchange
-**ndaá**ts'ehk'e	hit in the eye

The general rule, then, for /m/mb/ and /n/nd/ is that the monographs /n/ and /m/ are to be written except on stems and a few prefixes where /mb/ or /nd/ is mandatory.

3. /zh/ and /y/

Since there is no meaningful difference between these sounds in Slavey, spelling may be according to preference, though in general /zh/ will be used. Some dialects prefer yah "snow", while some prefer zhah. Some pronounce dézhenézhá "he/she tied it up to something", others déyenéyá.

4. /gh/

In words where this consonant is followed by a back vowel, it may sound like /w/ or /y/. E.g., meghú "his/her teeth" has variously been spelled meyú or mewú; meghǫh "concerning him/her" is sometimes written mewǫh. Such words should be spelled with the symbol /gh/. In the case of meghú, this decision is supported by the fact that there exists an archaic form xú used in isolation or utterance-initially.

5. /x/ and /h/

In words like xah "goose" and ɻxǫ́ǫ "yesterday", some speakers pronounce hah and ɻhǫ́ǫ. For such words, either spelling may be used. However, in verb stems like -xeh in nidúhxeh "I'll pick up (the container)", and -xah in edíhxah "it cackles", the /x/ should be used.

6. Disjunct-final /h/

There are two categories of verb prefixes in Slavey. "Conjunct" prefixes exhibit important changes to show differences of tense or actor. E.g., in dehtła gha "I'll go", the /ń/ indicates "I", contrasting with detła gha "he/she will go". But in "disjunct" prefixes, such changes are unimportant: e.g. gohdáhdéhtłah "he/she went down the slope" is no different from godáhdéhtłah or gohdádéhtłah. Consequently the final /h/ in disjunct prefixes will be written or omitted according to the perceived pronunciation.

7. Nasalization

Nasalization is to be written where it is grammatically meaningful, and is optional elsewhere. For example, ediitł'éh "I wrote", is in grammatical contrast with edɻɻtł'éh "he/she wrote".

Often the presence of the phoneme /n/ will cause a vowel to sound nasal. Thus, nóda or nǫ́da means "lynx" and sení or seɻ́ means "my face". Such nasalization need not be written, but there is no confusion in meaning if it is.

However, in some words it is important to understand the grammar in order to know whether or not to write nasalization. Examples: łaánɻdhe means "he/she died" while łaánidhe means "I died"; goghánɻʔǫ means "he/she gave (it) to them" while goghániʔǫ means "I gave (it) to them". (Many native speakers make the first person form clear, avoiding the nasalizing effect of the /n/, by inserting a /d/, thus: łaándidhe "I died"; goghándiʔǫ "I gave (it) to them".)

8. Triple Vowels

In a few words a vowel occurs three times in sequence. In such cases a hyphen is inserted before the third vowel so as to make it clear that this is not a typographical error. E.g.,

nóo-ohtła	I'll go back across	(the optative form of nóots'etła)
k'eé-et'óh	He/she paddled along quietly	(the perfective form of k'eéts'et'óh)

9. Word-Final Spelling

South Slavey has ten possible patterns with which a word or word-final syllable may end, although if we combine those patterns differentiated by tone alone, we have only five - i.e., combine the following patterns so that (1) and (2) are one pattern, likewise (3) and (4), (5) and (6), (7) and (8) and (9) and (10).

The following charts show the several shapes that a single-syllable word or a final syllable may take. C=consonant and V=vowel. H indicates a vowel with high tone. Square brackets [ ] enclose word-final glottal stops which are pronounced but not written.

CHART 1 Words ending with glottal stop

Pattern	Examples	
(1) CV[ʔ]	ke	moccasins
	chi	duck
	nóda	lynx
	theda	sit
(2) CH[ʔ]	tsá	beaver
	edé	ice chisel
	agújá	it happened
	meké	his/her moccasins
(3) CHH[ʔ]	medzáá	his legs
	dzáá	bad (situation)
	k'éʔǫǫ́	more and more
(4) CVH[ʔ]	medzeé	her heart
	medeé	her younger sister
	mekeé	his tracks

Note: in category 4 the vowel marked with a high tone is not pronounced as a full high tone. But it is higher than a low tone. It seems to be a lowered high tone or what could be called a mid tone, but it is not necessary to create a special tone mark since these words would not be confused with any others.

CHART 2 Words ending with /h/

Pattern	Examples	
(5) CVh	deh	river
	dih	grouse
	gondeh	talk
	gots'ęh	and
(6) CHh	edhéh	moosehide
	tth'éh	sinew
	gondih	be alive
	k'éndíh	keep

CHART 3 Words ending with a vowel

Pattern	Examples	
(7) CV	dene	person
	ezhi	that one
	odı	where?
	gúlı	it exists
(8) CH	kúlú	but
	sí	introduces a question
	kí	not translatable
(9) CVV	mezhaa	her children
	mechee	his younger brother
	thaa	a long time
	chụą	bird
(10) CHV	azhíi	what
	ahsíi	something
	nozée	skunk
	námbée	otter

C. Word Divisions

1. Compound Words

A compound is a word made up of two or more potentially independent words. Satsǫ́teni "tin can" is made up of satsǫ́ "iron" plus teni "pail". Such comparatively short expressions may be written as one word, though the option is open to writing them as two: satsǫ́teni or satsǫ́ teni. A few words must be written one way or the other to make the meaning clear: e.g., tsádhéh means "fur" (in the trapping industry), but tsá dhéh means "beaver hide"; tłeelá or tłehelá means "outboard motor", but tleh elá means "fuel barge".

Longer expressions should be separated at appropriate junctures which are usually obvious to a mature native speaker's intuition: e.g., met'áh satsǫ́teni dáhkáets'edehthe "can opener" or elá tu zhíe k'etłe "submarine".

2. The Short Form of Íle

The abbreviated form -le "not", from the full negative word íle, modifying a verb, is to be written as part of the verb: e.g., shéetıle "he/she hasn't eaten". If it follows a verb whose stem is -le, it is suggested that the full form ile be written to avoid the impression of a possible error: e.g., goghágeule íle rather than goghágeulele.

Further, if a verb followed by the future morpheme gha is in the negative, it is suggested that the full word íle be written: i.e., shétı gha íle "he/she isn't going to eat" rather than shétı ghale.

3. Suffixes

Suffixes such as -cho "big" as in elácho "barge", and -ah "small" as in chilekuah "young man" or "boy", which are never used in isolation, and would hardly be understood in such usage, are to be written as part of the word they modify.

The pluralizer -keh or -kee (non-obligatory, referring usually to groups of animate beings rather than to inanimate count nouns) is to be in hyphenated attachment to the preceding word: e.g., secho-keh "my parents" or "my ancestors".

When such suffixes are entered in a dictionary they will be shown with a hyphen: e.g., -cho, -keh, -le.

4. Postpositions

These are to be written as separate words, since generally they are identifiable in isolation by native speakers: e.g., semǫ gha "for my mother"; elá t'áh "with a boat". This decision is reinforced by the possible syntactic use of a postposition with a phrase, as in tłı̨ goʔǫ́ǫ́ nezu̧ ésı̨́ı̨ gha "for the best dog", where gha relates to tłı̨, not to ésı̨́ı̨. (The obvious exception to this rule is seen when the postposition refers to a bound pronoun prefix, as in segha "for me", where se- cannot stand alone. See also the next item.)

5. Verb-initial Postpositions

A number of verbs - generally those which take indirect objects - have as their first morpheme a postpositional prefix which "points" to the indirect object. These will be written as part of the verb. E.g., -ts'áets'ehndíh "pay", where the initial postposition -ts'á points to the one being paid. If this were written separately - ts'á ets'ehndíh - it would result in the anomalous word ets'ehndíh which does not have meaning in the context of "pay". Likewise with the word -gháts'enda "see", if the postpositional prefix -gha were written separately, it would leave ts'enda which is a word unrelated to the concept "see".

Further, concerning verbs whose initial prefix is a postposition, these will be listed in a dictionary with a hyphen. For example, káxets'echu "bring out (from inside an enclosure)" is essentially a complete idea, the prefix /ká-/ being the adverbial "out". But -káxets'echu means "go to get (groceries, etc.)", the prefix /-ka-/ being a postposition "pointing" at the thing to be gotten, as in mekáxets'echu, or ası̨́ı̨ káxets'echu. The hyphen will not, of course, be written in ordinary text.

6. Body Parts and Kinship Terms

These classes of words in conservative Slavey are not spoken in isolation: that is, they require a possessive prefix, so that a translation of English "eye" would be gondaá "someone's eye", not simply ndaá (though some innovative speakers may utter such words in isolation). When following a noun or proper noun, such words should be attached to the possessor with a hyphen: e.g. Mary-mǫ "Mary's mother"; John-gǫ́ "John's arm"; ladá-dzaa "the table's leg".

7. Other Dependent Noun Forms

Some independent nouns have a dependent form motivated by morphophonemic changes. For example, the word shı̨ "song" if possessed becomes -zhiné or -zhı̨́ı̨, as in sezhiné "my song". If possessed by an independent noun, this form will be written separately as in John zhiné "John's song". The word tłı̨ becomes lı̨ę́ as in melı̨ę́ "his dog(s)"; hence, John lı̨ę́ "John's dog(s)". Such words are to be written separately, and should be entered in a dictionary with a hyphen and with a cross reference to the independent form: e.g., "-lı̨ę́ see tłı̨".

D. Punctuation

1. Quotation Marks

It was decided that quotation marks will not be used because:

-a minimum of diacritical marks is desirable since we must use tone, nasal, and hyphen markings;

-Slavey quotations are clear and unambiguous in their grammatical structure. E.g., Andy kadi, Sachǫh énidé nadehtła gha, ndi. "Andy said, 'I'll go tomorrow', he said." The quotation itself may start with a capitalized word, and be set off by commas, as here exemplified.

2. Commas and Periods

Commas and periods will be used in the same manner as in English. The exclamation point also may be used.

3. Question Mark

The question mark will not be used in sentences having the Slavey interrogative markers sı́ as in Sı́ etthę́ nets'ę́h "Do you have any meat?" or élı as in ı́xǫ́ǫ jǫ nínıtłah élı "You arrived here yesterday, did you?" Also in questions signalled by the interrogative prefix /dá-/ as in Dádıındí "What did he/she say?" the question mark will not be used. But in sentences where the interrogative is marked by intonation alone, the question mark will be used, as in Sachǫ nadıtła gha? "You're leaving tomorrow?"

4. Capitalization

Capitalization will follow the English convention. Where a Slavey utterance, or a proper noun, begins with a digraph or trigraph, only the first letter will be capitalized: e.g., Tthe "rock"; Ts'ah "hat".

E. Other Spelling Questions

1. Contracted Forms

Shortened forms of words, common in everyday speech, may be written, with the understanding that educators will ensure that children and other learners are clearly made aware of the full or conservative forms of such words: e.g., máehnda from megháehnda "I see it"; azhǫ́ from adezhǫ́ or adezhóné "all".

2. Alternate Pronunciations

Words will be spelled as pronounced. This means that a word having more than one pronunciation may be spelled as spoken: e.g., ahsı̨ı̨ or t'ahsı̨ı̨ or t'ahsíi, etc., meaning "something". If such pronunciations represent dialect variations, learning materials will explain these variations in appended glossaries. Thus, if a school text produced in Fort Providence is to be used in Fort Simpson, the language specialist will provide a glossary so that a Simpson learner encountering the Providence word gútł'íé "vigorously" will find in the glossary that it is the same as the Simpson word hǫ́łt'íi. Whether a variation like ts'ahli/ts'ahle "frog" should be entered in the glossary, would presumably be at the discretion of the language specialists, in consultation with the educators.

3. Identifying Form of the Verb

The term "identifying" is used here rather than "basic" in the interests of accuracy. The minimal, most basic form of a Slavey verb is the third singular imperfective; all other forms are created by the addition of morphemes to this. The form to be used in dictionaries, grammars, literacy classes, etc., to identify a verb includes the morpheme /-ts'e-/ (or variants /ts'ı̨-/ or /-ts'a-/) signifying an impersonal subject, "someone" or "unidentified people", involved in the action. Thus, ejı̨ "he/she/it sings" is the basic form, but ts'ejı̨ "singing" or "someone sings" is the identifying form; likewise -gháenda "he/she/it sees", -ghátsʼenda "seeing" or "someone sees". This choice of identifying form is because:

(a) the elders, in formulating new technical words with the advent of European cultural items, commonly employed this impersonal form: e.g., in "can opener" met'áh satsǫ́teni dáhkáets'edehthe means "one cuts cans open with it";

(b) while some communities employ the impersonal form with /-ts'e-/ as a first plural, all recognize its use for generalization;

(c) the generalized form is appropriate since in Dene grammar there is no uninflected form like "sing" in English.

F. Other Considerations

1. Target Group

It was decided that the spelling system should be designed primarily for fluent speakers of Slavey, rather than for the comparatively fluent native child, or the non-fluent learner of the language.

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ᐊᐃᑦᐳᕈ 1990

1. <u>ᐃᑭᓛᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦᑕ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᓂᕐᒥᓐᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓇᐊᖅ - ᖃᓄᐃᓕᖓᓚᐅᕐᓂᖓ</u>

ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᐅᓂᖓ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᓂᖓᑕ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᑉ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐅᖃᕐᑎᐅᔪᓂᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᓂᑦ ᐊᑕᐸᖃᒥᐅᓂᑦ ᐅᔪᓘᓐᓂᑦ ᐃᑭᓛᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒥᓐᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᓂ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᓄᑖᖓᕐᒥᖓᑦ. ᐊᕐᕋᒍᒥ 1976-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ, ᐃᓄᒃᒪᕆᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕐᒥᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᒃᒪᒋᑦ ᐅᐊᓕᓂᕐᒥᐅᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᐃᑭᐊᑦ ᐃᓄᑎᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᑕᒪᓂ ᐃᓄᒃᓂᑦ ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᕐᑐᕐᒥᐅᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᕐᑐᑦ. ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓲᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑭᒡᒐᕐᑐᐃᔪᑦ ᐃᑭᓛᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᓂᕐᒥᑦ ᓯᐳᑦᓕᕐᔪᒥᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᔭᐅᓕᓚᐅᖓᑕ ᐊᑕᐸᖃᒥᐅᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕐᒥᓐᓂᑦ 1970-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑲᑎᒪᔪᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᓚᐅᖓᑦ ᐃᓄᐃᒃᒥ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑐᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕐᒥᓐᓂᑦ 1982-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ, ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᐅᔫᓚᐅᕐᑐᖅ ᖃᓂᑦᑐᑯᑦ ᐳᒃ ᓯᒥᕐᒥ 1984-ᒥ. ᐅᑭᐊᒃᔫᒥᓗ 1985-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ, ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᔪᒪᑯᕐᒥᑦ ᓴᕿᑦᑎᓚᐅᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓛᓂᒃ, ᑕᐃᒪ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᓚᐅᕐᑕᕐᒥᑦ ᐅᖃᓕᒫᕐᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ 1986-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ. ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓛᑯᑦ ᐊᑐᒐᖅᓕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᑭᓛᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦ ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᕐᑐᕐᒥᐅᑦ ᐃᑭᓛᕐᒥᑦᑕ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᑯᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦ. ᓚᕐᕋᒪᑯᑦ ᑭᐅᔪᑎᒋᓚᐅᕐᑕᖓ ᑕᑯᓄᖓ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᓄᑦ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᓚᕐᕋᒪᑯᑦ ᐃᒪᓐᓇᐃᓕᒋᐊᕐᑯᔨᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ;

ᒐᕐᕋᒪᑯᑦ ᐊᕐᒋᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᓱᒪᒃᓴᕐᓯᐅᕈᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᓂᖓᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔭᖅ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᓂᒃ ᑐᒃᓯᕋᐅᑎᒃᓴᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᕿᓱᐃᕐᑯᔨᑐᒋᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᒥᒃ ᐃᕿᓛᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦᑕ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᓂᒃᓴᕐᒥᓐᓄᑦ. ᑭᓇᐅᔭᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᐅᐳᑦ ᐸᕐᓇᐸᕐᓕᐊᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᒐᕐᕋᒪᑯᕐᓗ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐱᐸᕐᓕᐊᒋᐊᕐᓗᓂ 1987-ᒥ ᐸᕐᓇᒃᑕᐅᓂᒃᓴᖓᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᑦ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᓇᓂᕐᒧᑦ.˙
(ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᕐᕋᒪᑯᕐᒥᑕ:1986˙10)

ᑕᐃᒪ ᓴᕿᓚᐅᕐᑐᖅ, ᐃᑭᓛᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᓐᓄᑦ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᓇᐊᕈᑕᐅᑦᓗᓂ 1987-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐅᑭᐅᒍᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓲᑦ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᕐᓗᑎᒃ , ᑕᐃᒪ ᓯᐳᑦᓕᕐᔪᖓᑦᓗᓂ ᐊᕿᓱᕐᑕᐅᓂᓚᐅᕐᑐᖅ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᓄᓇᖃᑐᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᐅᔪᓂᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᓕᕐᓗᑎᒃ, ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐃᕿᓛᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖓᑦ ᓴᕿᔭᕐᑎᑕᐅᕐᒥᓐᓇᕋᓱᒃᐳᖅ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᐃᓐᓇᕐᑯᑦᓗᒍ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓐᓇᕐᓯᑦᓗᓂᓗ ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᓴᕿᔭᕆᐊᖃᓂᖓ ᓇᓗᓇᕈᓐᓇᐃᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᖃᑎᒌᒃᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᕐᒥᑦ ᓴᕿᔭᕆᐊᖃᒪᑕ.
ᐃᕿᓛᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᓐᓄᑦ ᓄᑕᖓᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᓂᖓ ᑭᓴᐅᔭᓂᒃ ᓴᐱᕐᑎᐱᐅᕐᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᓴᕿᑎᑕᐅᔪᑎᒍᑦ 1984-ᖓᑎᑦᓗᒍ ᑲᓇᑕ-ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᑯᑦ ᐊᕐᒋᖃᑎᒋᓐᓂᕐᒋᑦᑎᒍᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᖃᑎᒋᓚᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑐᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᕐᑯᓯᕐᑐᖃᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᖃᑎᒌᕐᑐᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ (ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᕐᕋᒪᑯᕐᒥᓐᓂ), ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᕐᒥᑦ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᓂᒃ ᑭᒡᒐᕐᑎᐅᔪᓂᒃ ᒐᕐᕋᒪᑯᑦ ᐃᖃᓇᐃᔭᕐᐱᕐᒥᓐᓂᖓᕐᑐᓂᑦ, ᐊᒃᒪᓗ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᓂᒃ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᔪᖃᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ. ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐅᖃᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓛᕐᒥᓐᓂ ᓂᕈᐊᕐᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑭᒡᒐᕐᑐᐃᕐᑯᔭᐅᑦᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᔪᓂᒃ ᐊᕐᔪᒋᕐᒥᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᐃᕿᓛᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᑐᓂᒃ Gwich'in, North Slavey, South Slavey, Chipewyan ᐊᒃᒪᓗ Dogrib.

ᑕᑯᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖑᖃᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑐᓂ ᑕᒪᕐᒥᑦ ᓇᓕᑐᐃᓐᓇᖕᒐᑦᑑᓐᓃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᖏᒻᒪᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᖏᒻᒪᑦᑑᓐᓃᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ ᐅᐸᑑᓐᓃᑦ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᖏᒻᒪᑕ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᓂᕈᑎᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒫᓂᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᓄᓇᖃᖃᑐᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᓐᓂᒃ. ᑕᑯᑦ ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖏᑦ ᓂᕈᐊᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᓂ ᑭᒻᒪᕐᑐᕐᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᐅᕐᑐᓂᒃ ᐊᕐᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ, ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦᓗ ᐃᓚᐅᑉᓗᑎᒃ, ᑕᑯᓇᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᖃᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ. ᐱᑦᔪᑎᖃᕐᑎᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᖃᑎᒋᖃᑦᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᓂᖕᒪᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᐃᐸᑦᓕᐊᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᖃᓄᖕ ᐊᕿᓯᒪᒍᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖕᒪᖕ ᐃᓗᐊᕐᓂᖕᒪᐅᓇᔭᕐᓂᖕᒪᖕᓂᒃ, ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓗᓂ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᓗᓂ. ᑕᑯᑦ ᐃᖃᓇᐃᔭᖃᑎᒌᒃᑐᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓛᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᖃᑎᒌᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐱᖕᒐᓯᐃᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓯᑕᒪᐃᕐᓗᑎᒃᓗᑭᐊᖕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᑎᒋᒃᑐᓄᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐅᖃᑎᒌᓄᑦ. ᑲᑎᒪᓚᐅᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ, ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓕᐅᕐᐸᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᓇᐃᓕᒋᐊᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᑦ ᐅᖃᒪᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒪᔪᑦᓗ ᓄᓇᓕᐅᑉ ᐃᓗᐊᓂ ᑕᑯᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᐅᔪᑦ ᑕᑯᓂᖕᒐ ᐊᕿᓯᐃᐸᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᐅᔪᓂᒃ. ᑕᑯᑦ ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖏᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᖃᑎᒋᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐱᖕᒐᓯᐃᕐᑕᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒥ ᒥᒃᓴᓐᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᓗᑎᒃ ᐊᕐᕋᒍᒧᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᒥᓐᓂᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᕋᖃᑦᑕᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᓕᕐᑯᓯᓕᕆᔨᑐᖃᑯᓐᓄᑦ, ᑕᑯᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑐᓕᕆᔨᑯᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᕆᔭᖏᑦ ᐊᑐᓕᕐᐸᑦᓕᐊᔭᖏᑦᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᕐᓗᒋᑦ.

ᑭᖕᒍᓕᕐᕌᒥᒃ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᖕ ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖏᑦᑕ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑭᒻᒪᕐᑐᕐᑎᐅᔪᑦ ᑕᑯᓇᓂ ᐃᖃᓇᐃᔭᖃᑎᒋᒃᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᓂᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᐊᑐᐸ, 1988-ᒥ ᑕᑯᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᐅᖃᕐᐸᑦᓕᐊᒋᐊᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᕐᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᔪᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᑐᑦ ᓴᕿᓚᐅᕐᑕᖏᑦ. ᑭᖕᒍᓕᕐᐸᖕᒍᔪᑦ ᐊᕿᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᐃᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᓕᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑐᒐᒃᓴᓕᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᐃᑦ ᐅᒃᑐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᑭᐊᒃᓴᒥ ᒪᓕᒐᓕᐅᕐᑎᑯᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᒃᒪᑕ, 1989-ᒥ.

2. <u>ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ</u>

ᑕᑯᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᕐᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓄᓇᑦᑎᐊᕐᒥ Gwich'in (ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᔪᑐᖃᕐ Loucheux), South Slavey, North Slavey, Chipewyan ᐊᒻᒪᓗ Dogrib. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᐅᕐᑐᖃᕐᒥᔪᖕ South Slavey-ᑐᑦ B.C.-ᒥ, Yukon ᐊᒻᒪᓗ Alberta-ᒥ, ᑕᑯᑦᓗ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᑦ Gwich'in-ᑐᑦ ᔪᒃᑲᓐᒥ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᓚᒃᑲᒥᓗ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓯᐱᔭᓐᑐᑦ ᐊᓐᐳᑕᒥ, ᒪᓂᑐᐸᒥ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓴᖃᕐᑎᑉᐸᓐᒥ. ᑕᑯᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᔪᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᑉᑐᕈᓯᐊᔭᐅᔪᑦ ᓯᓕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᑎᒋᖏᑕᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᒥᐊᓕᑲᒥᐅᑦ ᓄᓇᖕᒐᓂ Chilcotin, Sekani ᐊᒻᒪᓗ Beaver ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔭᐅᔪᖕ B.C.-ᒥ, Sarsi ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔭᐅᒧᖕ ᐊᓐᐳᑕᒥ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗᓗ ᓇᐸᔪ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᐸᓯ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕆᔭᐅᒥᖕᒪᑕ ᐊᒥᐊᓕᑲᒥᐅᑦ ᓄᓇᖕᒐᓂ.

ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖕ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᖕ ᓯᐳᑦᓕᕐᕌᒥᒃ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᓄᑦ ᐅᑭᐅᑦᑕᕐᑐᕐᒥᐃᑐᓄᑦ ᐃᒃᓯᕋᕐᔪᐊᓂᑦ 1900-ᖑᓕᕐᑎᑦᓗᒍ. ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐱᒋᐊᕐᓂᖃᓚᐅᕐᑐᖕ ᑐᕋᖕᒐᑦᓗᓂ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᒃᓴᖕᒐ Cree-ᑯᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ
Ojibwe ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᑯᓇᖕᒐᑦᓗᓂ ᐃᓄᒃᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᐸᑦᓕᐊᓕᓚᐅᕆᐳᓗᖕ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᓯᓕ ᐅᑦᓗᒥᒧᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐃᓅᔪᑦ ᓯᓕ ᐅᖃᓕᒪᕈᓐᓇᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᓗᑎᒃᓗ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ.

ᐅᑦᓗᒥᒧᑦ, ᑕᐃᒪ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᓄᑕᖑᓂᖕᓴᐃᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖕᓴᐅᑉᑦᓕᐊᓕᕗᑦ ᑕᐃᒪᖓᑦ ᐅᑭᐅᓄᑦ ᐊᑉᑎᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒋᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ.

ᐃᓄᒃᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖕ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᐊᑐᓕᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᔭᖓᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᓂᖓᕐᑎᑦᓗᒍ ᐊᕿᐅᒪ ᑎᐊᓚᐅᖏᒻᒪᑕ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᓂᐱᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᔭᐅᓚᐅᖏᒻᒪᑕ ᑐᑭᓯᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᕈᓐᓇᓚᐅᖏᓚᑦ. ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖕ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᓚᐅᕐᖕ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᖏᑲᓗᐊᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᐊᔪᑎᒋᔪᓚᐅᕐᔪᖏᑦ, ᑕᐃᒪᐃᑐᒥᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᓚᐅᕐᖕ ᓯᐳᑦᓕᕐᔫᒥᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒋᐊᓕᓚᐅᕐᖕ ᐅᐱᕐᓂᑯᑦ ᐅᔪᓘᓐᓃᑦ ᓇᒥᓂᖕ ᐊᑐᕐᓂᐊᕐᑕᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᐅᑦᓗᒥᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖓ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐳᖕ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖓ, ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᓯᒪᓂᖓ ᐊᑯᓂᐊᓗᒃ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᕋᔭᕐᖕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᐅᓯᖏᕐᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᓂᐊᕐᐸᑦ. ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᖏᑉᐸᑦᓕ, ᓄᑕᖃᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑕᐅᓂᖕ ᐊᔪᕋᔭᕐᒪᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑐᖃᕆᖏᑦᓗᒍ ᑎᑎᕋᕋᓯᒃᓗᒍ ᐊᔪᓇᕋᔭᕐᒪᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᓕᒪᕋᓯᒃᓗᒍ.

ᑕᐃᒪᖓᑦᓕ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᒪᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᓄᑕᖑᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓗᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᔭᐅᓯᒪᕐᑎᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᑕᖃᓂᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᓂᑦ , ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔨᓂᑦ, ᑐᕌᔨᓂᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂᑦ , ᐊᕐᕋᒍᓄᑦ ᐊᑉᑎᓄᑦ , ᐃᕿᓕᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑎᖃᕐᓂᕐᓴᐅᓕᑐᖕ ᑕᐃᒪᖓᓂᑦ ᓄᑕᖑᕐᑎᕐᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓗᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᑕᐅᓇᓂᓗ ᐅᖓᓯᒃᓂᕐᓴᓂ ᓄᓇᓂ ᐊᒥᐊᓕᑲᒥᐅᑦᓗ ᓄᓇᖏᓐᓂ ᑕᒪᑯᓄᖓ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᕐᑯᔭᐅᒪᕆᓕᓚᐅᕐᒪᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᑉᓗᓂᓐᓗᕐᒪᑦ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᐃᐅᐊ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖓ ᓄᓇᓂ ᐊᐱᒃᑐᕐᓯᒪᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᓚᖏᓐᓂ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᕐᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ , ᐃᓄᐃᓐᓇᕐᑐᑦ.

ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖓ ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᑉ ᓱᓕ ᓴᕿᔭᕐᓂᖃᕐᖕ ᐃᓕᕐᑯᓯᑐᖃᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᕿᓖᕐᓄᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᑭᑐᑐᐃᓐᓇᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓕᕋᔭᕐᑉᐸᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᕐᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᐃᓄᒃᑎᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᕐᔨᓚᖓᑐᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᕋᔭᕐᖕᑦ ᓈᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᕐᑎᐊᕆᐊᖃᕋᔭᕐᖕᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᒪᓐᓇᒧᑦ ᐊᒥᓱᖏᓕᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒧᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒧᖓ ᐃᓗᐊᖏᑦᔪᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᑐᑦ , ᐊᒻᒪᓗ, ᓄᑕᖃᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᓄᖓ ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᑦ, ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖓ ᐊᔪᑕᐅᖏᓐᓂᖕᓴᐅᔪᖕ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᕋᖓᒥ ᐃᓄᐃᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖓᓐᓂᐅᓐᓂᑦ.

3. <u>ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᖑᓯᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᖃᓯᕐᓯᒪᓂᕐᒥᑦ</u>

ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓛᖑᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᓂ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᒃᑲᓗᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖅᑲᑦᒪᑕ. ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓱᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᖃᓕᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᖃᓯᕐᓯᒪᕐᑎᐊᕐᒪᑕ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᑐᐃᓐᓇᕐᒥᑦ ᖃᑉᓗᓴᑐᑦᓗ ᐱᐱᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᕐᑎᑐᑦ. ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᖕ, ᐃᖃᓕᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᑦ ᐊᒥᓱᓕᕐᑕᐅᒧᓐᓇᕐᓂᕐᓴᐅᒧᖕ ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᓐᓂᐅᖑᓂᑦ , ᑕᐃᒪᓕ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖃᕈᐱᑦ ᐃᖃᓕᕐᑐᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᐸᐃᑦ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᓗᒍ ᓂᐱᖑᓗ ᐊᕐᕆᑐᐃᓐᓇᕐᓗᒍ ᑎᑎᕋᑦᑕᐱᑦ. ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᑦᓕ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᐊᔪᓇᕐᓂᕐᓴᐅᔪᑦ, ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᓐᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖅᑲᕐᓴᑕ. ᐅᒃᑐᑎᒋᓗᒍ, ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑑᒍᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᓐᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖅᓴᑕ: <u>to, too, two, through, threw, clue, shoe, suit, coup.</u> ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᑦ, ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᑦ ᓂᐱᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᑦᑐᓐᓇᕐᓗᑎᒃ: <u>d</u>ame, <u>d</u>ad, <u>f</u>ather, <u>c</u>all, sofa, <u>m</u>any. ᐃᓛᓐᓂᑯᑦ ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᑦ, ᑎᑎᖃᐃᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒐᓗᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓂᐱᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᒥᑦᑐᑦ: <u>though</u>, <u>o</u>ften, bom<u>b</u>, <u>k</u>nife, <u>p</u>tarmigan.

ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᔪᕐᓇᕐᒥᓐᓂᕐᓴᐅᔪᑦ ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᕐᑑᓂᐅᖑᓂᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᕐᒥᑦ ᑕᒪᕐᒥᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑐᐃᓐᓇᐅᒐᒥᒃ ᓂᐱᖃᕐᑐᐃᓐᓇᐅᒃᒪᑕ. ᑰᒃᑐᑎᒋᓗᒍ ᑐᑭᓯᑲᓇᕐᓯᒋᐊᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᕐᒥ. ᖃᑉᓗᓈᑐᑦ, ᒪᕐᑑᒃ ᑕᐃᒪ ᑎᑎᖅᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑎᒪᕐᒥᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᒃ th. ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᓕᒪᕐᑕᐅᓱᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ either and ether ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᑯᒃᓴᐅᓂᖃᕐᐳᑦ, ᑕᑯᐊᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᓂᕐᒥᑦ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᒪᐳᑦ th. ᐃᖃᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᓱᓕ ᑕᑯᐊᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᒃᑐᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖃᕐᑐᑦ, ᐊᑐᖃᑦᑕᕐᐳᒍᑦ ᒪᕐᕈᒃᓂᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᕐᒥᑦᑐᓂᒃ : th. ᓂᒥᐱᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ either ᐊᒻᒪᓗ dh ᓂᐱᖃᕐᓗᓂ either. th ᓂᐱᖅᓴ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᐃᓐᓇᓱ th. ᐊᒻᒪᓗ dh ᓂᐱᖅᓴ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᐃᓐᓇᓱᖑᓪᓗᓂ.

ᑕᐃᒪ ᑯᒃᓴᑦᓚᒃᓇᖃᑦᑕᕐᒥᓚᑦ ᓄᑕᖃᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᐅᖃᓕᒫᕐᓂᕐᒧᑦᓗ ᐅᑭᐅᓂᒃ ᐊᒥᓱᓂᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᕆᐊᖃᖃᑦᑕᕐᒪᑕ ᐊᔪᕈᓐᓇᐃᕐᑎᐊᕆᐊᖃᕈᑎᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓐᓇᐃᑦ ᐊᒥᓱᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑎᐊᕐᓂᖅ ᐅᖃᓕᒪᕐᓂᕐᓗ ᐊᔪᕐᑐᑦ. ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᑦ, ᑐᑭᖅᑦ ᐃᓕᑕᐅᑲᐅᑎᒋᓂᕐᓴᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᑐᑦ. ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᕐᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᔪᕈᑎᖃᓚᐅᐱᑦᓚᖃᑦᑕᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑎᐊᕐᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᑕᒪᕐᒥᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᓚᐅᕐᓗᓂᑦᔪᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕆᐅᓴᕆᐊᖃᖃᑦᑕᕐᒪᑕ, ᓂᒋᖑ ᓱᕐᑯᐃᕐᑎᐊᓚᐅᕐᓗᒍ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᕆᐊᖃᖃᑦᑕᕐᒪᑦᔪᒃ, ᐃᓕᓴᕆᐊᖃᕆᑉᓗᑎᒃ ᖃᓄᖅ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᑐᒃᓕᕆᖃᑦᑕᕆᐊᖃᓂᖅᓂᒃ.

ᐅᑉᓗᒥᒧᑦ, ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᖃᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᓚᒃᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᑦ ᐅᖃᓚᒃᓂᖑᕐᑐᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᑎᒋᔪᑦ.
ᑕᐃᒪ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᐅᓕᒪ, ᐊᔪᓇᖑᕐᑎᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓗᒍ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔭᓄᑦ ᐊᔪᓇᖑᕐᑎᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᑕᐃᒪ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖑᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᑐᑭᓯᐊᓐᓇᕐᑎᒋᒃᒪᑦ ᐃᖃᓗᑦ. ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᖕ, ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᑑᓗᐊᑦ ᐃᓗᐊᖑᕐᑕᔪᑎᖃᓕᖃᑦᑕᕐᒥᔪᑦ ᖃᓄᖅ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᐊᑦᒍᕐᓯᒪᓂᐊᕆᐊᖑᕐᓴᕐᓂᒃ, ᐅᐸᑉᓗᑉᓂᑦ ᓇᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᓯᒪᓂᐊᕆᐊᖑᕐᓴᕐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᓇᓗᓇᐃᑯᑕᖑᑦ. ᐃᓗᐊᖑᕐᔪᑕᐅᒃᓂᕐᒥᔪᖅ ᐃᖃᓗᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖑᕐᓄᑦ ᐅᑉᓗᒥᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖑᕐᓄᑦ, ᒪᕐᑑᒃ ᐃᖃᓗᒃ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥ ᓄᓇᓕᒃᒥ ᓄᓇᓗᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᔭᕐᒪᑦᒧᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᑦᑐᓗᒍ, ᐊᕐᕆᖑᕐᑐᒃᓂᒃ ᑕᐃᒍᕐᔭᕐᒪᑦᔪᒃ. ᑰᒃᑐᑎᒋᓗᒍ, ᐃᖃᓕᑦᑑ ᓄᓇᖅᓂ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᖑᕐᑐᒃᓂᒃ ᑕᐃᒍᓯᖃᕐᔭᕐᒪᑕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᕐᕆᕐᒥᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᑐᒃᓗᐊᑦ ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃ ᑕᐃᓯᓂᖑᑦ ᐊᕐᕆᖑᕐᒪᑕ ᐊᕐᕆᖑᕐᑐᒃᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᕐᒪᑕ. ᑕᒪᓐᑐᒪ ᐃᓗᐊᖑᕐᔪᑎᖅᓴ ᓴᕐᑭᓕᖃᕐᑕᕐᒪᑦ ᖃᓄᖅ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᐊᖃᕐᑭᐅᒪᓇᔭᕐᓂᖅᓂᒃ ᓄᓇᓕᒃᓄᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᖑᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᑎᑦᓗᒍ ᐃᓗᐊᕐᓂᕐᓴᑯᑦ ᐊᕐᕈᐅᒪᕆᐊᖅᓂᒃ. ᑰᒃᑐᑎᒋᓗᒍ,

ᐃᓚᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᐅᔪᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐅᖃᑕᐅᔪᓄᑦ ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔪᒧᑦ, ᑎᑎᖃᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᐸᓐᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑎᒍᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᖃᑦᑕᓂᑯᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐃᓕᖅᑯᓯᖃᓕᓚᐅᖅᖅ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᖅᑕᐅᓯᒪᓚᐅᖅᒪᑕ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑎᒍᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑕᑦᓗᑎᒃ , ᐅᐸᕈᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᖅᒥ ᓄᓇᓕᐅᒐᓗᐊᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖅ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᖅ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕈᓐᓇᖅᒪᑦᔪᒃ. ᐅᒃᑐᑎᒋᓗᒋᑦ, ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᑐᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᐱᖓᓱᒃᐸᑕ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓱᑦ ᐃᓚᖓᑦ ᓄᑕᐅᖏᓛᖑᑦᓗᓂ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐱᖃᑎᖓᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᖅᓗᐊᓕᕐᔪᑦᑐᖅ, ᑕᓐᓇ ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔪᖅ ᔪᑲᓐᒥ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖅᓴᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᑯᐊᒃ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥᐅᑕᐃᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᓚᖅᑐᒥᐅᑕᐃᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᓚᖅᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᓐᓂᒃ.

- ᐃᓚᒋᔭᐅᑉᓗᓂᓗ ᐊᑐᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖅᒥᒃ ᓇᓕᐊᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔭᕆᐊᖃᓂᖅᓴᐅᓂᖅᓴᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᑕᖅᒪᑕ, ᓱᓕ ᒪᓐᓇᒧᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᓯᒪᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐅᐸᕈᓐᓂᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᑉᔪᑎᒋᒪᕆᓚᐅᕐᓯᒪᖏᑕᖅᑦ ᖃᓄᐃᓕᖅᓴᓇᔭᕐᓂᖅᓴᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖅ ᐅᐸᕈᓐᓂᑦ ᒪᒃᐲᕐᔪᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓗᒃᑕᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᑐᑭᓯᒋᐊᕈᑦ.

ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓗᐊᖏᑦᔪᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᓱᓕ ᓴᕿᖃᑦᑕᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ ᖃᓄᖅ ᐊᑭᓯᕐᓯᒪᓇᔭᕐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᒃᓴᐅᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᓂᐊᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᐸᒃᑐᑦ ᐃᓄᓯᒃᓂᖅᓴᓂᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂᑦ. ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐃᓄᓯᒃᓂᖅᓴᐅᒧᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᒃᓂ ᑕᑯᒃᓴᐅᓂᖅᓴᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᒪᑕ ᓇᐃᓕᒋᐊᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᓂᖅᓴᐅᑉᓗᑎᒃ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐅᔪᑦ ᐅᖃᒪᓕᕋᖅᒥᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᑕᑭᓂᖅᓴᐅᑉᓗᑎᒃ ᐱᖃᑦᑕᕐᒪᑕ. ᐱᑦᔪᑎᖅᒐ ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᐃᓄᓯᒃᓂᖅᓴᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᓕᕋᖅᒥᒃ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᕐᓂᐅᖅᓂᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᑦᑕᖏᑦ ᓇᐃᓐᓂᖅᓴᐅᒧᓐᓇᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᓚᐅᑦᑕᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᒪᓕᒃᓗᒋᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᕆᐊᖃᖃᑕᕐᒪᑕ.

ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᑕᐃᒪᖅᒐᓂᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᒃᑐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑭᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᖃᖏᒻᒪᑦ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ , ᑐᓴᐅᒪᖃᑎᒌᓂᖏᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑯᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᓄᓇᓖᑦ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᖃᑎᒋᑦᑎᐊᕈᓐᓇᖏᑦᓚᑦ. ᓱᓕ, ᓄᓇᓕᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔨᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒌᒃᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕆᐊᖃᓂᖏᑦ ᓄᖃᕐᑎᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᕐᒪᑕ. ᐊᑭᑐᓂᖏᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦᑕ ᐊᑭᑐᓂᖅᓴᐅᓚᐅᕐᒪᑕ ᐊᑭᓗᐊᕆᓚᕐᔪᖏᓐᓂᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑦ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᐅᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᕋᔭᕐᒪᑕ ᐊᑕᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓕᖑᑦᓗᑎᑦ . ᒫᓐᓇᐅᔪᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕈᑎᑦ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᕆᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒌᖏᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᑦ ᓄᓴᓕᒃᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᐃᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᒃᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖅ ᐊᔪᕐᓗᑎᒃ.

ᑕᐃᒪ ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᓂᖅᓴ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᐅᓯᖅᓴ ᑕᒪᑲᓴ ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᐃᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᑎᒌᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕋᔭᕐᓗᑎᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ, ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑐᓂ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐅᔪᑦ, ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᖃᑎᒋᒃᑐᓄᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᐃᓯᒪᔪᑦ. ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᑲᓐᓂᓚᐅᕆᐳᖅ ᐊᑭᐅᒪᑦᑎᐊᑦᑯᑉᓗᒍ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᔪᓇᖏᓐᓂᓴᐅᑦᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᑐᑭᖃᑦᑐᖅ ᑎᑎᖃᐅᓯᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᑦᑕᖃᕆᐊᖃᐳᖅ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑦ ᓂᐱᖏᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᑦᑎᐊᖃᑦᑕᕐᓂᐊᕐᒪᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ, ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᓂᒃ ᓂᐱᖃᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕆᐊᖃᖏᑦᑐᑦ. ᑭᖑᓕᕐᔪᑦ, ᓄᑕᖑᑦᑎᑕᐅᓂᖅᓴ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑕ , ᐃᓗᐊᖏᑦᔪᑎᖃᖃᑕᕐᓯᒪᔪᕐ ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᑎᑦᓗᒍ ᓇᓕᐊᓐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᖃᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕐᓂᐊᕐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ. ᐊᑭᓯᕐᑕᐅᓂᖅᓴ ᓄᑕᖑᑦᑎᑕᐅᓂᖅᓴ ᐊᑭᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᐳᖅ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓗᒃᑕᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᓗᐊᕆᔭᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᕈᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᓗᑎᒃ.

4. <u>ᑭᓗᑉ ᓄᑖᖑᕐᑎᑦᑕᐅᓂᖓ ?</u>

ᑕᐃᒪ ᐊᑦᓗᒋᖏᑦᑐᐃᓐᓇᐅᒻᒪᑕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᑦᓗᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᐅᑦᑐᓂ. ᐊᑦᓗᒋᖏᓐᓂᖏᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᒥ ᓇᖏᖕᒐᕐᓂᖓ ᐱᔪᑎᖃᕐᒪᑦ, ᐅᑉᐳᓐᓃᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᐅᑉ ᐃᓗᐊᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᓂᖅᐅᑉᐳᑦᑐᑦ ᐊᑦᓗᒋᖏᓐᓂ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᓂᖅᐅᒻᒪᑕ ᐃᓄᓯᒃᓂᖅᐃᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐅᓂᖅᐃᑦ ᐅᑉᐳᓐᓃᑦ ᑐᒃᓯᐊᕐᐱᒃᓂ ᐅᖃᓚᒃᑎᐅᔪᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑕᐅᒃ ᐊᑦᓗᐅᖏᓐᓂᖅᐅᒥᒃᒪᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᓂ ᐃᕿᓐᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑕ ᓄᑖᖑᕐᑎᑦᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦ ᑕᐃᒪ ᑐᒃᖃᕐᐳᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑦᓗᒋᖏᑦᑐᓂᒃ ᑕᐃᒍᓯᖃᐅᑦᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᔪᖏᓐᓂᖅᐅᑯᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖓ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᓗ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕐᓯᒪᓂᖅᐅᑯᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐃᕿᓐᑦ ᓄᓇᓕᖏᓐᓂ.

ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓕᕆᐊᖃᐳᖕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖓᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᓗᓂ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᓂᖕ ᐊᔪᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᐃᓇᕐᓄᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓄᑕᖃᓄᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐅᖃᕐᓂᖕ ᐊᔪᕈᑎᒃ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᖕ ᐊᔪᕈᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑕᐅᒋᖓᐊᖃᐳᖕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑐᖃᕆᖏᑯᓂᐅᒃ. ᐃᓕᓴᒪᐅᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᖕ ᐃᓚᖃᕆᐊᖃᐳᖕ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓂᖕᒧᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕈᓐᓇᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓱᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓗᒋᑦ. ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᐱᒃᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓐᓇᐃᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᐱᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ ᒪᓐᓇ ᓴᕿᔭᓕᕐᑐᓂ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᐱᒃᓂ.

ᑭᓇᐅᔭᓂᒃ ᑕᒪᑐᒧᖓ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᓴᐱᑎᔪᖅᑲᑲᓐᓂᕆᐊᖃᐳᖕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᖕ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᑲᓐᓂᕐᑯᑦᓗᒍ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓱᑦ, ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐅᓂᕐᓴᐃᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑐᖃᖃᑐᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᖏᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᐊᐱᒃᑐᕐᓯᒪᐅᕐᑐᓄᑦ ᓇᒪᒋᔭᐅᓚᐅᕐᒪᑦ ᐊᑐᒐᒃᓴᓕᐅᕐᑐᖃᓚᐅᕐᐳᖕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑕ ᓄᑕᖅᑭᕐᑕᐅᓂᖓᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᒥᒃ, ᐅᖃᐅᓱᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᖃᑦᓯᐅᔭᕆᐊᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑐᖃᖏᑦ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᒃᒪᑕ ᑕᑯᓇᖓᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᖏᓐᓇᕆᐊᖃᕐᓂᖏᑦ, ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᐅᔪᖅ ᑎᑎᕋᑦᑕᐅᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᖅ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᓱᓕ, ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐳᖅ ᓄᓇᓕᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᖏᓐᓂᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᑦᑎᐊᑦᑐᓂᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᑦᑕᐅᓯᒪᒍᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᒃᓴᑦ ᐊᑭᐅᒪᑦᑎᐊᕋᔭᖕᒪᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ, ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᓄᓱᒃᓂᖕᓴᐃᑦ ᐊᔪᕋᔭᖕᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᖕᒧᑦ ᐊᔪᕈᓐᓇᐃᖕᓴᓂᖕᒧᑦ ᐊᔪᕈᑎᖃᖃᑕᕋᔭᑯᖕᒪᑕ ᑐᑭᓕᐅᕐᓯᒪᑦᓇᕐᓇᒃᓂᖕᓴᓂᒃ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᖕ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᒪᑯᒃᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᒻᒪᑕ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᓄᑐᖃᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖓᐅᒃᐸᑕ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕈᑎᓂ ᒪᑯᒃᓂᖓᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᑦᑎᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᓂᖓᐅᐳᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᓂᖓ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᑭᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᖃᕋᔭᕐᐳᑦ.

ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᓄᑕᖅᑭᕐᑎᓇᔨᖏᑦ ᐱᒋᐊᕐᑯᔨᓚᐅᕐᐳᑦ ᓄᓇᐃᑦ ᐊᑎᖃᐅᕐᑐᓗᒃᑖᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐊᑎᓚᐅᕐᑕᖏᑦ ᐊᑎᓕᐅᕐᑕᐅᑲᓐᓂᕆᐊᖃᖏᓚᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑐᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᓂᖏᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᔪᖅ ᐊᑐᕐᓗᒍ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ. ᓇᓗᓇᐃᑯᑕᓗᒃᑖᑦ ᐊᑎᖏᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᑦᑐᖅ ᒪᓕᒃᓗᒍ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ . ᐊᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᓄᓇᐃᑦ ᐊᑎᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᐃᔨᓂᑦ ᒐᐸᒪᑯᓐᓂᖓᕐᑐᓂᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᓂᖏᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖏᓐᓂᑦ. ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑯᑎᖏᓐᓂ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐊᑎᖃᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑎᖏᑦ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᑲᓇᑕᐅᑉ ᒐᐸᒪᑯᖏᓐᓂᑦ.

ᓴᓇᖓᐊᑎᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᓕᒪᓕᐅᑎᑦ ᓄᓴᓕᒃᓂ ᐃᖃᓇᐃᔭᑎᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᓴᕿᑦᑎᕐᑯᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᓯᒪᔪᓂᒃ ᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᓴᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓱᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᓗᒋᑦ. ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᑐᓴᒐᒃᓴᐅᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᑦᑕᐅᓯᒪᖃᑕᕐᑯᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᓱᓇᑐᐃᓐᓇᐃᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ.

ᑕᒪᕐᒥᓗᒃᑕᑦ ᐱᕐᑯᔨᐳᖓᕈᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᓯᒪᔭᖏᑦ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᖃᒪᑕ, ᓯᐱᑐᔪᒧᑦ ᐊᑐᑦᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᐅᒃᒪᑕ ᓴᐱᑦᑎᐱᐅᖏᓐᓇᕆᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᓂᒃ ᓄᓇᑦᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᐸᒪᑯᖏᓐᓂᑦ.

8. <u>ᐊᕿᓯᑦᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦᑕ -ᓯᐃᑐᓂᖓ</u>

ᓯᐳᑦᓕᕐᔫᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᖓ ᐊᕐᕌᒍᓄᑦ ᖁᓕᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᐊᑦᑐᑦ ᓄᑕᖅᑭᕐᑕᐅᓂᖓᓄᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦᑕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐱᐊᓂᒃᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᕐᒪᑕ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖏᓐᓄᑦ. ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᓯᒪᓕᕐᐳᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ

ᐅᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᑐᓂᒃ ᓄᓇᓖᑦ ᐃᓗᐊᓂ. ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ ᐊᕿᐅᒪᕐᔪᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᑐᑦ
ᕿᓂᕐᑕᐅᖃᑦᑕᕐᓯᒪᔾᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ, ᐃᓚᐅᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑎᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᓱᑦ,

ᐊᑐᓕᕐᑎᑕᐅᓇᓱᐊᕐᑐᓂᒃ ᓴᕿᑦᑎᖃᑦᑕᕐᓯᒪᔾᓗᑦ ᐃᒧᓯᒪᓗᒋᔭᐅᑉᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ
ᐊᕿᐅᒪᕐᑎᐊᕆᐊᖃᓂᖏᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᕿᐅᒪᕐᑎᐊᕐᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦᓗ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖏᑦ
ᑎᑎᖃᐅᓱᑦᓗ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ.ᐊᑐᕈᒪ.ᒥᓐᓂᒃᓗ ᐊᑐᕐᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᐅᑉ
ᒥᒃᓴᓐᓄᑦ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᑎᑎᖃᐅᓯᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑐᕆᐊᖃᑐᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᑯᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ
ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᑦᔨᒋᖏᑦᑐᑦ ᑕᒪᕐᒥᑦ ᑕᑦᓕᒪᐅᒧᑦ ᐊᕿᐅᒪᕐᑎᐊᕐᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦ.

ᑐᒃᓕᐊ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᔪᒃᓴᖅ ᐊᕐᓴᒍᓄᑦ ᖁᓕᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᒧᒃᓴᖅ ᐱᔭᕇᕐᓯᒪᓕᕐᑐᖅᑕᐅᖅ. ᑕᒪᓐᓇ
ᑐᕋᖓᓂᖅᓴᐅᔪᖅ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᖃᑎᖏᒃᓂᖅᓴᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᖃᑎᖏᒃᑐᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᑦ ᐃᓕᖁᓯᑐᖃᓕᕆᔨᖏᑦ;
ᐃᓕᓴᐅᑎᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᐊᕿᓱᐃᔨᐅᔪᑦ, ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᓐᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔨᐅᒧᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔪᔪᑦ
ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒧᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓄᓇᓖᑦ ᐊᐱᒃᑐᕐᓯᒪᐅᕐᑐᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᐅᐱᖃᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑕᒪᓂ
ᐅᑭᐅᕐᑕᕐᑐᕐᒥᐅᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪᓗ ᐅᒃᑐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒧᖓ ᑎᑎᕋᓯᒪᓕᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑐᓂᔪᑕᐅᓯᒪᓕᕐᑐᑦ
ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᓄᑦ , ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᕿᓱᐃᓕᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᔪᑎᒃᓴᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᓕᕐᓗᑎᒃ.

ᐊᕿᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᐊᕿᓱᕐᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐸᕐᓇᒃᑐᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓚᖏᓐᓂᑦ. ᐱᖓᓱᐊᓂᒃ
ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᐅᔪᖅ ᐊᑐᐊᔭᖃᕐᖅ ᐱᓕᕆᔨᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᓂᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᑉ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᒧᑎᒃᓴᒪᕆᐊᓂᒃ
ᑲᒪᓱᒃᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑉ ᒪᓕᒐᓕᐅᕐᑎᖏᑦ. ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᒃᓴᖏᑦ
ᓄᓴᓕᒃᓂᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᐱᒃᓂ , ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᒐᐸᒪᑯᑦ ᐃᖃᓴᐃᔭᖏᓐᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᓂ ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ
ᐊᕿᓱᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᑦᑎᒍᑦ.

ᓯᒻᑕᒪᖓᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᐊᕐᑐᖅ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐅᑦ ᓄᓴᓖᑦ ᐃᓄᖏᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ
ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑕᓴᕐ ᓴᕿᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐅᖅ, ᑐᓴᕐᓕᐅᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᐅᖅ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖅ ᓄᓴᓕᒃᓄᑦ
ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᓂᖓ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑎᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᕿᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖏᕐᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ
ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᕐᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦ. ᐊᒥᓱᓂᕐᓴᐅᒧᑦ ᑐᕿᓕᐅᕐᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᕐᑕᐅᖃᕐᑕᕆᐊᖃᐅᑦ, ᐊᒥᓱᓂᕐᓴᐅᒧᓂᒃ
ᑕᒪᑐᒧᖓ ᐊᑐᕐᑐᒃᓴᓂᒃ ᓴᕿᑦᑎᓯᒪᔭᕆᐊᖃᕐᒪᑦ, ᑕᐃᒪᓐᓇ ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ
ᑐᓴᐅᒪᔭᐅᓂᕐᓴᐅᓇᔭᕐᒪᑦ. ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔨᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑎᑕᐅᒋᐊᖃᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ
ᐃᓕᓴᐃᖃᑦᑕᕐᑯᑉᓗᒋᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᑖᓴᕐᒥᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᖃᐅᒐᒪ, ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᕐᑐᑦ
ᑎᑎᕋᖃᑦᑕᕐᑐᑐᖃᐅᓕᕐᑐᒐᓗᐊᑦ ᐃᓕᓐᓂᐊᕐᑎᑕᐅᑲᓐᓂᕈᓐᓇᕋᔭᕐᓂᖏᓐᓂᒃ ᐃᖃᓇᐃᔭᖃᕐᑐᑦ
ᐃᓕᓴᐃᔨᐅᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᓴᔨᐅᓂᕐᒧᑦ.

ᑕᑦᓕᒪᖓᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑭᖑᓕᕐᐸᖅ ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐃᕿᓕᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖏᓐᓂᑦ
ᐅᑭᐅᓄᑦ ᖁᓕᓄᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᓕᓚᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔪᒧᑦ, ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ
ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᒥᒃ ᐊᑐᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᕿᐅᒪᖏᓐᓇᓱᒋᔭᒥᓐᓂᒃ ᐅᐸᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᕿᑕᐅᓚᐅᕐᑐᓂᒃ
ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕈᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᐅᓚᐅᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓕᕈᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ
ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕈᑕᐅᔪᑦ. ᑕᐃᒪ ᐃᓱᒪᒋᔭᐅᓯᒪᔾᑦ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕈᑕᐅᔪᑦ
ᐊᒥᓱᓗᐊᕐᓂᐊᖏᓐᓇᓱᒋᔭᐅᑉᓗᑎᒃ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑯᓂᐅᓗᐊᖏᑦᑐᖅ ᐊᕿᒋᐊᕈᑕᐅᔪᑦ
ᑎᑎᕋᑕᐅᔪᓐᓇᕐᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ, ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᑐᒃᓴᑦ ᓄᑕᕐᓄᑦ ᐃᓕᓴᕐᓕᖓᑦ
ᐊᑯᓂᐅᓗᐊᕐᓂᐊᖏᓐᓇᓱᒋᔭᐅᔾᖅ.

ᐅᑭᐅᓄᑦ ᖁᓕᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᑦ ᑭᓯᓂᖏᑦ:

ᓯᕗᑦᓕᕐᑦᑐ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᒃᓴᐅᔪᑐ (1987-88) ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᓄᑕᖑᕐᑎᑦᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃ: ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᒪᓐᓇᐅᔪᑐ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᑦ ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᖁᔭᐅᓇᔭᕐᑐᑦ.

ᐊᕐᕋᒍᑦ ᑐᒃᓕᐊᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ (1988-89) ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᑭᑯᑐᐃᓐᓇᐃᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᓂᕐᒥᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖃᕐᑐᑦ : ᓄᓇᓕᑦ ᐊᑐᖁᔭᖏᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᕐᓴᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑎᖃᐅᕋᓱᒃᓗᓂ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᖃᐅᕐᑐᓂᑦ.

ᐊᕐᕋᒍᑦ ᐱᖓᓱᐊᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᐊᕐᑐᑦ (1989-90) ᑎᑎᕋᐅᔫᑦ ᐃᓕᑕᕆᔭᐅᓯᒪᓂᖓᑦ: ᐸᕐᓇᐃᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓕᖏᑦ ᐊᕐᑐᑕᐅᔪᒃᓴᒻᒪᕆᒃᓂᒃ ᐊᕿᓯᓗᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᓂᒃ: ᐊᑐᕐᑕᐅᕆᐊᒻᒪᕆᒃᐸᑕ ᐊᐊᖏᕈᑕᐅᕆᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒪᓕᒐᓕᐅᕐᑎᖏᓐᓂᑦ.

ᓯᑕᒪᖓᓐᓂᒃ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᔪᒃᓴᖅ 1990-95 ᓄᓇᓕᑦ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑕᐅᕆᐊᖃᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᑕᓴᕐ ᖃᐅᔨᒪᔭᐅᓕᕆᐊᖃᓂᖓ: ᓄᓇᓕᑦ ᑐᓴᕐᑎᑕᐅᕆᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃ ᐃᓕᓴᐅᑎᒃᓴᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᔫᑦ.

ᑕᑦᓕᒪᖓᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᕆᐊᖃᑐᖅ (1995-96) ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓗᓂ: ᖃᐅᔨᓴᕐᑕᐅᓗᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᑖᓴᖅ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓕᖏᓐᓂᑦ; ᐊᕿᕆᐊᕐᑕᐅᓗᑎᒃᑎᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᑖᓴᕐ, ᑲᓯᓯᑎᑕᐅᓯᒪᓗᓂ ᓄᓇᓖᑦ ᑐᓴᐅᒪᑎᑕᐅᕆᐊᖃᓂᖓ.

ᐊᕐᕋᒍᓄᑦ ᖁᓕᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᐊᕐᓂᖓ ᓄᑕᖑᕐᑎᕆᓂᐅᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑕᐅᓕᕆᕆᐊᖃᓂᐊᕐᐳᖅ ᒐᕙᒪᑯᓐᓂᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᕙᒪᑯᖏᓐᓂᑦ, ᐃᓱᒪᖏᕐᑎᒍᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑭᓇᐅᔭᑎᒍᑦ ᓴᐱᕐᑎᐱᐅᕐᑦᓗᓂ. ᑕᐃᒪᓘᓐᓂᑦ, ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥᐅᑦ ᐃᓄᖏᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑐᐃᕆᐊᖃᓂᐊᕐᐳᑦ ᑕᒪᑐᒥᖓ, ᒪᕐᕉᒃᓂᒃ ᐱᑦᔪᑎᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ. ᓯᕗᑦᓕᕐᒥᒃ, ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥ ᓄᓇᖃᕐᑐᑦ ᖃᐅᔨᑎᑦᓯᐊᓂᓚᐅᕐᒪᑕ ᑭᐅᔪᑎᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᓄᓇᖃᖃᑐᓄᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᓕᕆᔨᑦ ᑲᑎᒪᔨᕋᓕᖏᓐᓄᑦ, ᑕᐃᒪ ᑕᒪᑐᒥᖓ ᓴᖏᔪᒻᒪᕆᒃᒥᒃ ᐊᓯᕈᑎᒋᒃᒪᑦᒍᒃ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᕐᑎᒃ ᓄᑕᖑᕆᐊᕐᑕᐅᖁᕐᑐᒍ; ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑐᒃᓕᐊᓂᒃ, ᒐᕙᒪᑯᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑐᐃᖏᑐᐊᕐᐸᑕ ᑕᒪᑐᒥᖓᑦ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥᐅᑦ ᐃᓄᖏᑦ, ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᑐᖓᖏᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᕐᒥᐅᑕᐃᑦ ᐊᓯᐅᐸᑦᓕᐊᓂᐊᓕᕐᒪᑦ.

ᐊᕿᓯᐃᖃᑕᐅᓯᒪᔪᑦ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᕐᑕᐅᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐃᑲᔪᕐᑎᕝᒻᒪᕆᓚᐅᕐᒪᑕ ᐅᖃᐅᓯᖃᕐᓗᑎᒃ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᕙᒪᑯᖏᑦ ᑭᐅᑲᐅᑎᒋᒋᐊᖃᐳᑦ ᖁᓕᕐᓇᖏᑦᑐᒥᒃ ᑕᒪᓐᓇ ᐊᕐᕋᒍᓄᑦ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᖁᓕᕐᓇᕈᓐᓇᐃᕐᑯᑦᓗᒍ. ᑕᐃᒪᓕ ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᐱᓕᕆᐊᖑᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᑭᖑᐸᐅᒪᒐᓗᐊᕐᐸᑦ, ᐊᔪᕐᓇᕐᓯᓇᔭᕐᒪᑦ ᐅᐸᓗᓐᓂᑦ ᐊᔪᕐᓇᐅᑎᖃᓕᕋᔭᕐᒪᑦ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᖓ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᐅᑦ. ᐊᖑᓂᐅᓂᕐᓴᖅ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᒍᓂ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖅ, ᖃᐅᔨᒪᓕᕐᐸᑦᓕᐊᓗᕆᑦᓗ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᕐᓴᐅᓗᓂ ᐱᓇᔭᕐᒪᑦ. ᒪᕐᓇᐅᔪᒍᑦ, ᑕᒪᑯᐊᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᐃᖃᑕᐅᔪᑦ ᐃᑭᓖᑦ ᑎᑎᕋᐅᓯᖏᑦ ᓄᑕᖑᕐᑎᑦᑕᐅᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᐃᓂᖏᑦ ᐊᕿᓯᓂᖏᑦᓗ ᑕᑯᒃᓴᐅᒻᒪᕆᒃᓯᒪᓕᕐᒪᑦ, ᐊᒥᓱᓂᒃ ᐊᑐᑕᐅᓂᐊᕐᑐᓂᒃ ᐊᔪᕐᓇᕐᑐᒐᓗᐊᕐᑎᑦᓗᒋᑦ ᓴᕿᕐᑎᑦᓯᐊᕐᓯᒪᓕᕐᒪᑦ. ᑕᒪᑐᒪ ᐃᖏᕋᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᐊᒻᒪᓗ ᑲᔪᓯᑎᑕᐅᓯᒪᓂᒃᓴᖓ ᑕᑯᒃᓴᐅᕆᐊᖃᐳᖅ ᑕᑯᐊᑦ ᓄᓇᕐᑎᐊᑦ ᒐᕙᒪᑯᖏᑦ ᑭᓯᐊᓂᒃ ᐊᓯᕈᑎᒋᒃᐸᑦᔪᒃ.